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Abstract

This handbook describes young children's interaction with people, particularly their mothers. Children from contrasting socioeconomic conditions were used as subjects, and descriptions of these six 3-year-olds in their homes are related in detail. The home observation excerpts deal with the effect of mothers' instructions and demonstrations on their children, the experiences mothers provide for their children in the home, children's subsequent learning, and mothers' influences on children's language development. An appendix gives possible answers to the study suggestions. Each description is followed by suggestions for study and comments. A section on play is in preparation. The handbook is intended to be used as supplementary material for training adults who work with young children. (DR)

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CHILDREN LEARNING

Samples of Everyday Life
of Children at Home

A Resource Book

by

Jean W. Shaw and Maxine Schoggen

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The Demonstration and Research
Center for Early Education
George Peabody College for Teachers
1969

Children Learning
Limited Distribution Edition

This is the advance of publication edition of a resource book to be used as supplementary material for training adults who work with children. People in charge of programs such as pre-primary and primary in-service training, and mother intervention programs in a variety of settings may find this useful. The material provides a written "slow motion film" presentation of learning situations three-year-old children are experiencing in contrasting home environments. The introductory statements have been written in nontechnical language and have been kept to a minimum in the hope that groups at different educational levels can follow the ideas presented. We have anticipated that this book might be used in a number of ways; there are probably additional ways and perhaps other situations for which it might fill a need. Your recommendations and criticisms are invited and will be incorporated into any future edition.

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Acknowledgments

The writers wish to express appreciation to Dr. Susan Gray for providing the setting in which to work through this manual. Her contributions to the basic ideas and her help in selecting from suggestions made by us provided the basis for the manual.

The specimen records from which the excerpts were taken were originally gathered for research purposes under the Office of Education contract mentioned below. The observers who made these specimen records which have been used were: Ellen Brown, Beth McCandless, Virginia Neuhoff, Janet Reeves, Maxine Schoggen, and Myrtle Scott.

The painstaking typing and checking by Dottie Ross helped immeasurably. The cover was taken from a painting by Kenneth Shaw and the layout was done by John Brown.

The often stated comment that the work could not have been done without the cooperation of the children, their siblings, and their mothers is even more true of these mothers and children as they willingly allowed us into their homes many times over a relatively long period of time.

This work was performed pursuant to Grant Number 9174 with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the research from which the specimen records were taken was performed pursuant to contract Number C-3-7-070706-3118 with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official policy of either office.

Introduction

There is no shortage of small children. You can see them everywhere, some babies, some knee high, some just even with your waist. They ride in cars, walk in parks, climb on trash heaps, tag along in the grocery store. Children are special creatures. They interact with the world in their own way. The young child lives and functions primarily in homes, but also in places such as in preschools, on streets, and at the candy counter. Parents, cousins, grandparents, brothers, and sisters see them differently. For years educators and political leaders have been seeking answers to the social problems such as poverty and inequality of educational opportunity. Time has shown that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Work with young children looks like the "ounce of prevention" needed. This interest in children raises such questions as, what are the characteristics of the young children of this generation, what should they learn, how shall they be taught, what is their future? Parents and professional people set about to provide for their needs now and prepare them for adulthood.

The child learns from the total impact of his environment. Everything present in his home influences his learning. But the fact that some things are not there makes other kinds of learning impossible. In some homes there may be a television set and enough chairs so everyone can sit around the table at the same time. Yet there may not be books or magazines. In another home there may be flowers and pictures but not enough beds for each person. A home may have picture books but no crayons or paper to color on. There may be appropriate or inappropriate toys or practically no toys at all. The combination of such things probably makes a difference to a child's early learning and his success in school later on.

People are an extremely important part of the child's experience. They are probably more significant than objects surrounding him in his home. The mother or mother substitute usually holds the key to the child's early experience and learning. Mothers teach! They teach deliberately and unknowingly, but they do teach. Researchers Hess and Shipman measured the I.Q.'s, of mothers of different social classes, and also observed their behaviors with their children. They found that the way in which mothers interacted with their children was the most predictable clue to the children's intellectual performance (Hess and Shipman, 1968).

Learning is most useful to an individual when it not only applies to the immediate situation but also lays foundations for further understanding (Bruner, 1960). This is particularly true of early learning. For example, a child whose mother says, "Gimme dat," and points to a red ashtray on the coffee table is receiving a much more limited foundation for learning than the mother who says, "Susie, please hand me the red ashtray that's on the coffee table." In language development, a child whose language is "restricted" in both structure and content by the limitations of his environment is handicapped for future learning in a complex culture (Bernstein, 1960).

This handbook will give you a chance to look at some ways in which people, particularly mothers interact with young children.

The descriptions of real three year old children at home that you will be reading were taken from reports of moment by moment behavior originally meant for research purposes. Observers were trained to go into homes to try to describe carefully everything the three year old did and said and how he did and said them. They were to describe what was said and done to the child and how. They also were supposed to give some idea of what else was going on in the home. This is a difficult job and the observers were not always able to do what they set out to do. The original records were in a special form for purposes of the research but they have been changed slightly to make smoother reading.

The observers spent many hours in the home watching the children and adults. They saw many of the problems all mothers face. When they were in the low income families the observers felt especially warm toward the mothers. Most of the observers felt they could not have done as good a job as those mothers were doing in their situations. The children easily forgot about the observer being there. Some of the mothers found it hard to pretend the observer was not there. Almost all mothers, from time to time, would seem to suddenly remember that they were being watched. Most of the time, however, the mothers probably did the best they knew how with their children.

Almost all the excerpts were taken from six families. Short descriptions of these families are on the next few pages. The time in minute and seconds in parenthesis (8'40") is stated. This is the time from the beginning of the observation; for example, (8'40") means that eight minutes and forty seconds has gone by since the observer started to observe the child.

Following each excerpt are suggestions for study. These are intended to help bring out some of the ideas the authors saw in the excerpts. It is assumed that each person using this material will see different things in the records.

An appendix is included with some possible answers to the study suggestions but they should not be considered the only answers.

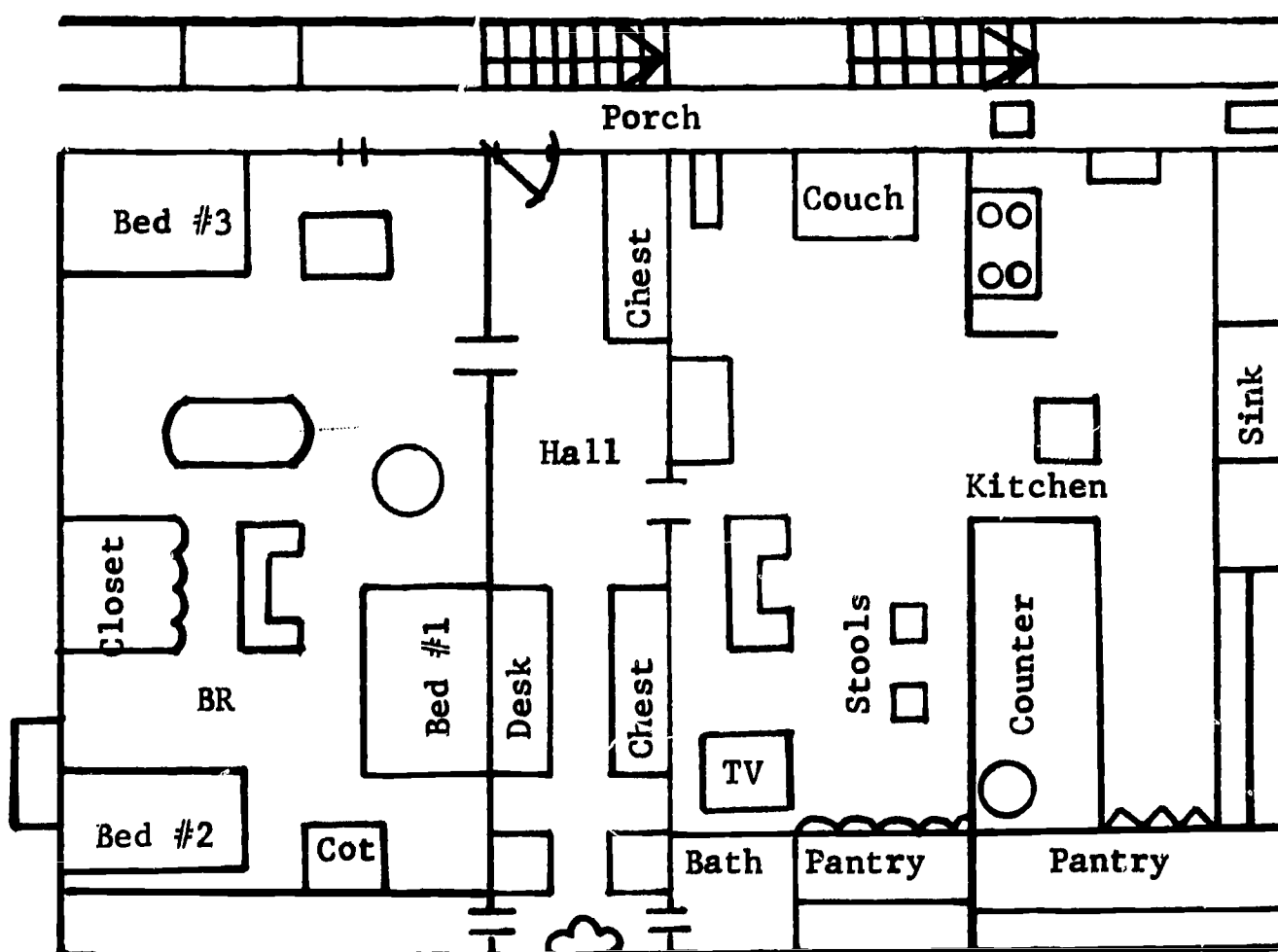
Comments follow each section. These include some general interpretations by the authors as well as some references to other research that seem to relate to the material in the observations.

Description of Families

Owen Edward Culster

The Culster family lived in a second story flat in a run-down section of a metropolitan area. The apartment could be reached only by a rickety wooden stairway at the rear of the house. There were two rooms in the flat, a living room-kitchen area which included a couch that the parents used as a bed, and a bedroom where the five children slept. The house was often very untidy partly because there were few places to store things. There was a tiny bathroom off the hall which appeared to be shared with other occupants of the building. Cockroaches, flies, and rats were commonplace throughout the building.

There were five children in the family, Wanda, 7; Opal, 5; Owen, our subject, 3; Oliver, 2; and Kenneth who was six months at the beginning of the series of observations. Mr. Culster was 26 and Mrs. Culster was 21. Mr. Culster had completed sixth grade; Mrs. Culster had completed third grade. Mr. Culster was employed as a laborer but was often without work for short periods of time during business slumps. Few toys were ever seen during the series of observations, and the children were often inadequately clothed.

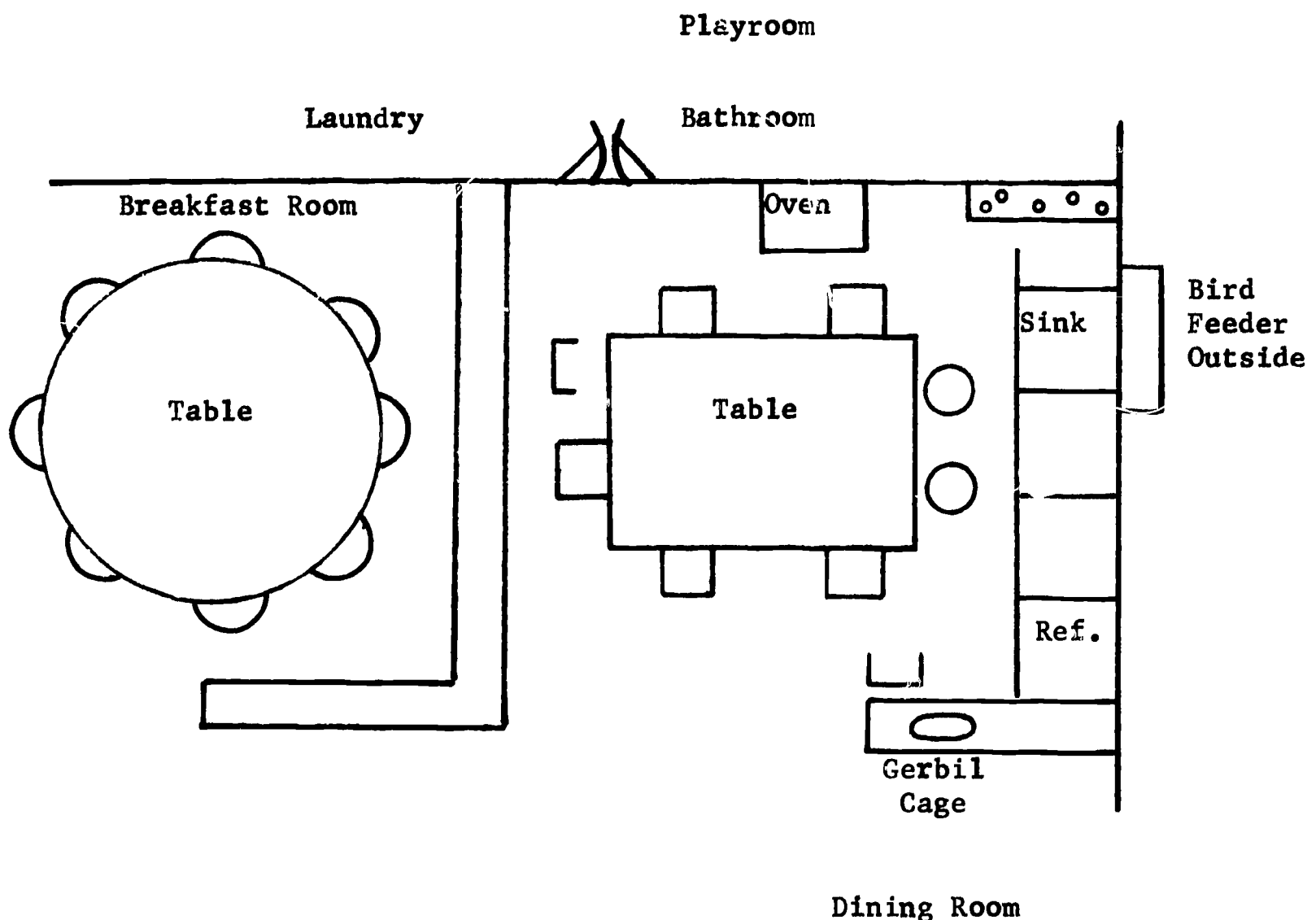


Rene Payne

The Paynes lived in a modern well-equipped five-bedroom home in the suburbs of a metropolitan area. The furniture was chosen with comfort and cheerfulness as primary requisites and the house was full of personal touches of all members of the family. The well shaded lot was spacious and landscaped for privacy. Bird feeders, a child's pool, and swings, outside, and nursery school blocks, spacious pleasant bedrooms and playrooms, records, books, mobiles, and gerbils, inside, all added to this impression of a children-centered household.

The Payne parents were in their mid to late thirties. Both parents had gone to or beyond college; the father was engaged in medical research. The mother was active in the church Sunday School and in preschool work. There were six children in the family, Perry, 13; Fred, 12; Noah, 11; Amelia, 7; Rene, our subject, 3; and Peter, 2. Margie was employed as a babysitter and general mother's helper; she and the mother had friendly discussions on many topics. Glenda and Iris were the family dogs and were constantly underfoot.

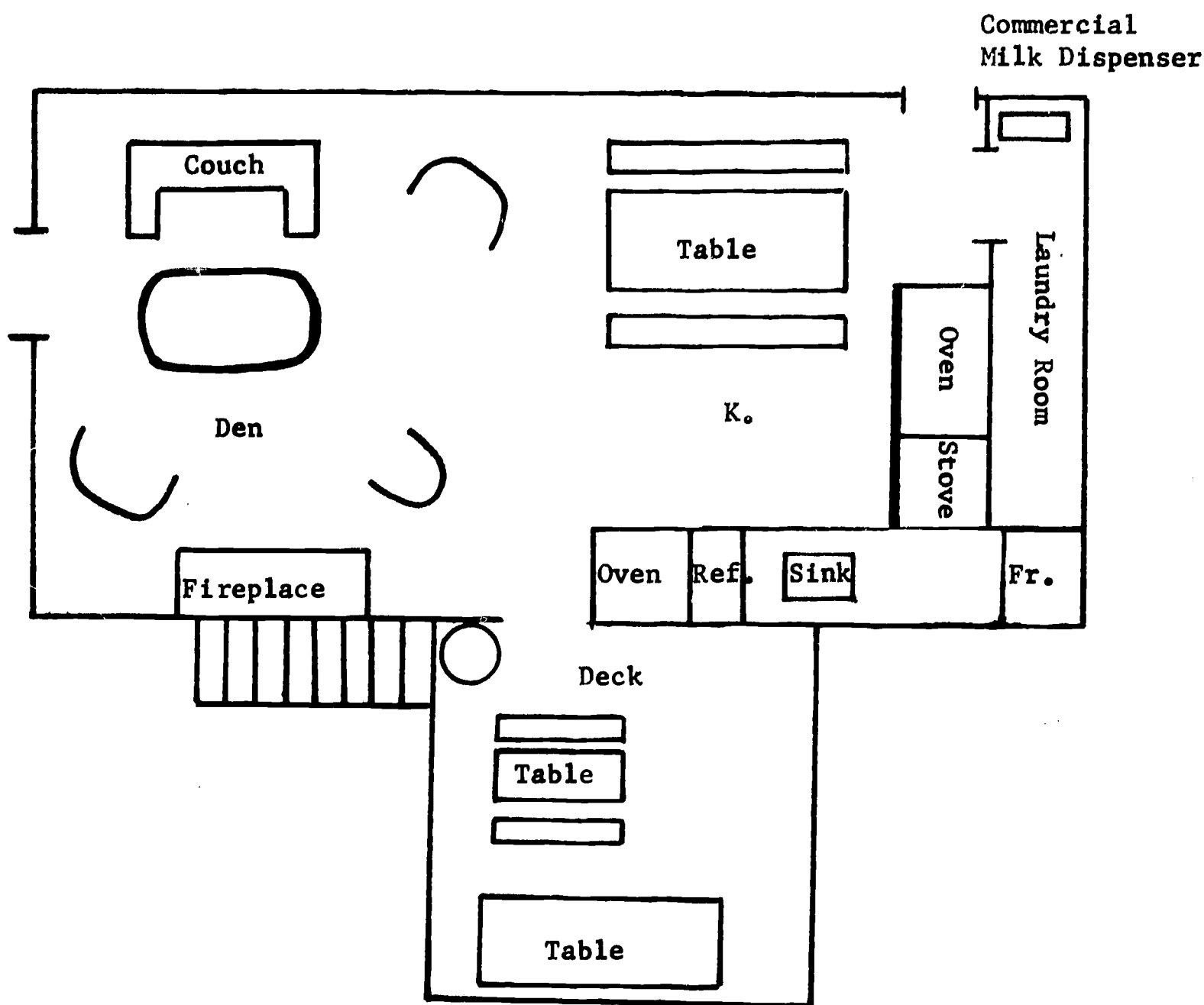
Kitchen area in which Payne observations took place:



Connie Roper

The eleven Ropers lived in a spacious, new six-bedroom house in a subdivision near their Catholic Church. The house was elegantly furnished in the formal living areas and comfortably and tastefully furnished in the informal living areas of the house. The lower level spacious three bedrooms were arranged so that the largest served as a playroom by day. A bathroom in that lower level area served these bedrooms. The upper level bedrooms, too, were separate from the main level living areas which provided privacy for every member of the family. A trampoline outside, large blocks, record player, books and many toys suggested that the household has many children. A large dog was the passive family pet.

Dr. and Mrs. Roper were in their mid thirties. Dr. Roper was a dentist of high repute. Mrs. Roper was active in the church women's organization as well as the school connected to the church. She was always attending or planning to attend a meeting. The nine children ranged in age from 14 to three months of age. The children most often seen were the three youngest, Phil, 4; Connie, the subject, 3; and Flora, the 3 month old baby. Phil and Flora were robust, sturdily built children but Connie was petite, small for her age. Phil and Connie displayed a charming, comfortable relationship, Phil often acting as Connie's protector and comforter.



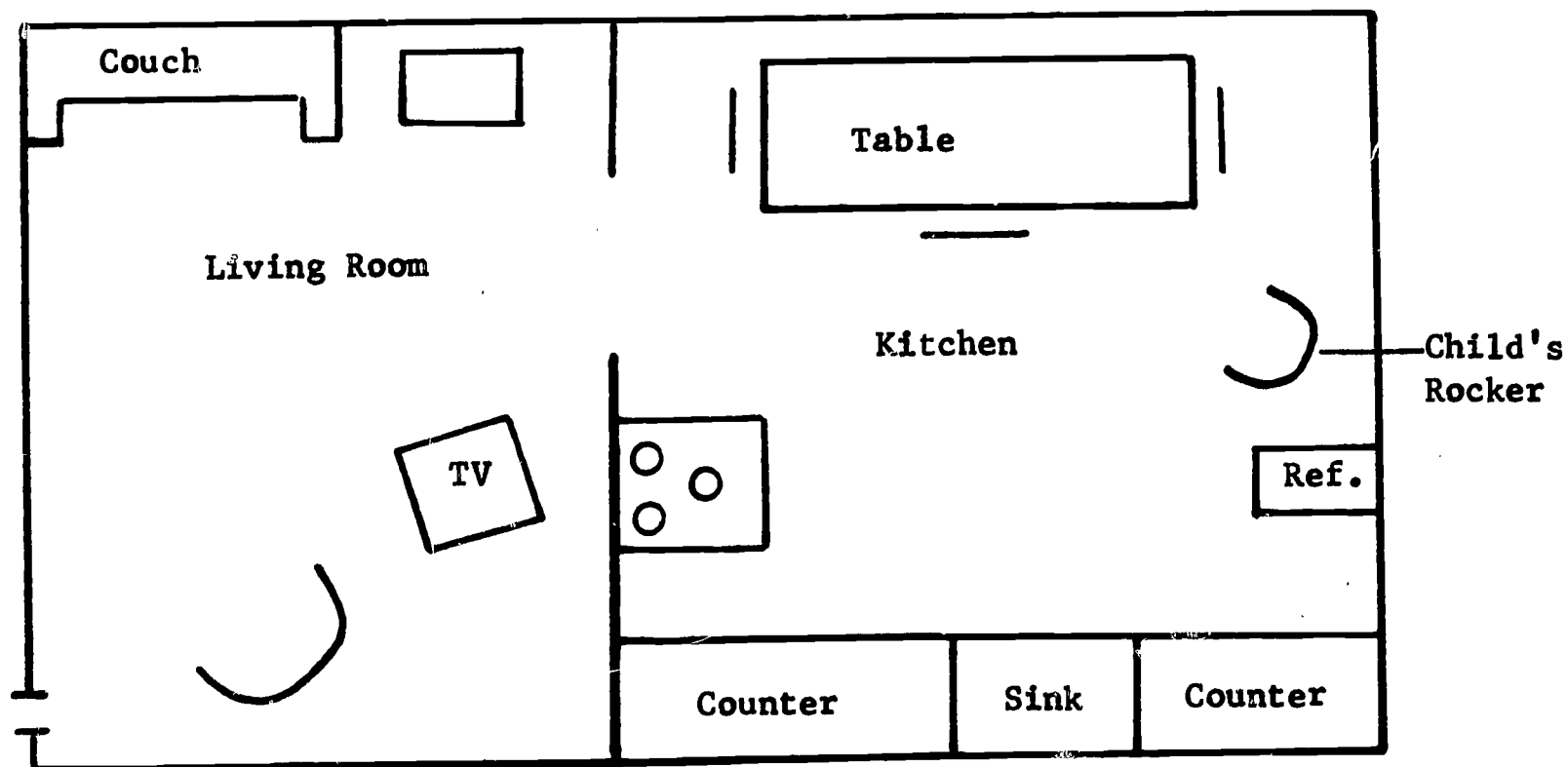
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Zane Rubens

The Rubens lived in a two-bedroom apartment in a low income housing project. The few pieces of furniture and accessories were attractive and clean. There were only three kitchen chairs with no other chairs ever seen for use at the kitchen table. There was no dining room. Two bedrooms and a bath were upstairs. There was limited outdoor space used by the several other families in the apartment complex.

The Rubens parents were in their mid thirties. The father had completed high school but the mother had not. The father worked as a semi-skilled laborer. The mother spent most of her time at home. There were three children in the family, Phil, 4; Zane, our subject, 3; and Ginger, eighteen months.

Kitchen area in which Rubens observations took place:

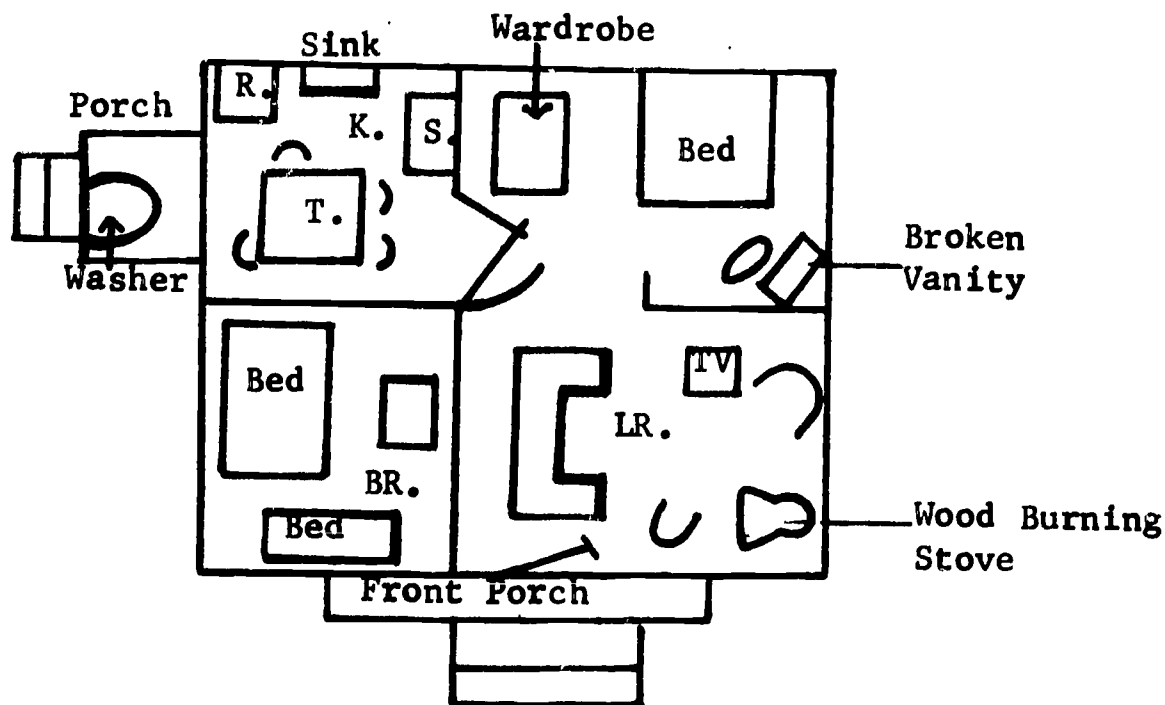


Paula Shelton

The Sheltons lived in a rural community in a four room shack which had no running water. The only heat was a wood and trash burning stove in the living room. Water was stored in an old hot water tank in an adjoining field. The one bedroom had a double and single bed in it and what might have been a dining room was furnished with another double bed, a large broken wardrobe and a broken vanity table. What furniture there was, was broken down and dirty. There was electricity in the house and the television set was on constantly. The house was usually quite dirty with accumulation of clothes laying about, usually in the dining room-bedroom. There was a table and four chairs and a high chair in the kitchen. An old refrigerator and somewhat newer stove completed the kitchen furnishings. There was a sink, but the faucets were not connected to any water supply. There were no cupboards. The only two shelves were usually bare. On one visit a package of crackers was on the shelves.

Mr. Shelton, about 30, was never seen by the observers; he was a truck driver and was seldom home. Mrs. Shelton, in her late twenties, was a wan looking passive woman of few words. She had just had her fifth child as we began the observations. This may have accounted for her general lack of energy. Observers had been in the home several weeks prior to the birth of this baby. Mrs. Shelton looked as if she had "given up," however, she had not given up completely. A moving episode occurred in one record when amidst a completely untidy house and filthy, squalling children, Mrs. Shelton sat down and carefully rolled up her hair as she watched television. Still, when the children were loud and cranky, Mrs. Shelton seemed to retreat from them as if she did not know how to cope with them. The children in the family were, Phoebe, 6; Francine, 4; Paula, our subject, 3; Woody, eighteen months; and Nina Ann, the newborn baby. Phoebe was in school so usually only four children were present during observations.

The only toys ever seen by the observers was one troll doll, two tiny plastic flower pots each with one flower in it, and a broken down small child's wagon.



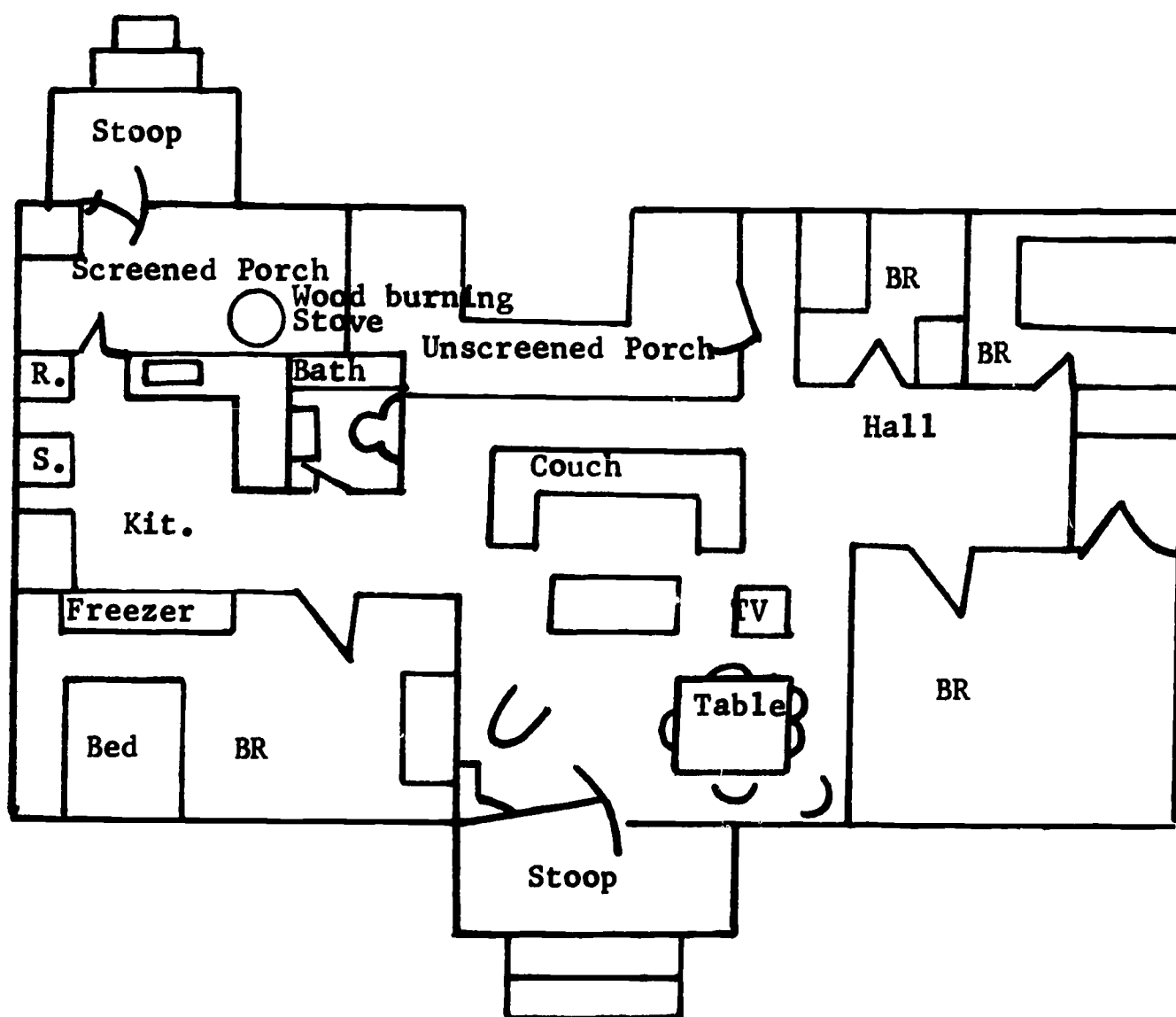
Jack Vogler

The Voglers lived in a rural area. The house was small but adequate for the size of the family. It had indoor plumbing and electricity and was heated by a small wood burning stove which was put into the living room in winter. Another small such stove also was placed year round in a back porch area. This stove may have been used for canning, etc. The house was surrounded by open fields, animal enclosures and a vegetable garden.

Mrs. Vogler was an energetic woman in her late twenties. She had finished high school. The father was a pleasant, quiet man also in his late twenties. He had a steady job. From comments made by Mrs. Vogler, it appeared that he had not completed high school.

Jack, the three-year-old was the subject of the observations. The other children in the immediate family were Vera, 8; and Sadie, 5. Sadie was enrolled in a preschool. Phil, aged 14, Mrs. Vogler's brother was sometimes at the house during the course of the observations.

The general atmosphere of the family was warm and friendly. On the occasion of one visit, Mr. Vogler was helping Jack to learn to play the guitar. He was warm and accepting in his efforts to help. The many animals about the house, both inside and out, had been named by the children and several times observers were introduced to these animals by the delighted children.



Chapter I

Specificity of Mothers' Behavior

Teachers and parents try to help each child learn. Sometimes they want the child to continue in a behavior he already knows. Another time they may like the child to be able to produce a new response, do something different in a particular situation. In other circumstances, the adult may wish for the child to stop a behavior that is inappropriate.

If the child is going to be able to do what the adult wants, he must first of all, understand what is expected of him. The words used must be meaningful to the child. Sometimes words are not enough. A demonstration is essential. What the mother says and does should be clear and detailed enough so that the child "catches on" right away.

The following excerpts are examples of different kinds of instructions and demonstrations.

Excerpt: 1 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 3 Observer: M. Schoggen

This excerpt is from a visit to the Payne family, described earlier. Mrs. Payne and two of her children, Rene, 3 and Peter, 2, are having lunch. Peter has a spoon in his glass of Kool-Aid and is enjoying stirring it very hard.

(8'00") Rene leans forward in her chair, looks over at Peter and says, "Peter, Peter, Gucko-Jucko, Gucko." This seems to be a deliberate effort on her part to distract him. "Petey, Petey," she calls rather loudly and resolutely. Peter pays absolutely no attention but continues to rattle his spoon noisily in his mug. "Peter, Peter," says Rene quite firmly. "Stop it! Stop it! Petey, stop! Stop!" she repeats in the same firm tone. "Ka-ka, ka-ka," Rene shouts as if again trying to distract him since her direct efforts have not been effective. The mother reaches over and puts one hand on Rene's arm. This, I think, was meant to be somewhat restraining and calculated to keep Rene from scolding Peter. The mother then turns her face toward Peter while still holding onto Rene's arm. "Petey," the mother says sweetly yet firmly, "stir softly, not so hard. Stir softly." At the last "stir softly" the mother removes her hand from Rene's arm and makes very gentle stirring motions in the air as if showing to Peter how he should do it. Rene looks from her mother to Peter with interest as this goes on. "Then it won't get in your eyes," the mother adds as if this final comment will certainly make a difference. (8'30") "Okay?" the mother queries in her customary rather pleasant sounding voice.

Peter looks at his mother intently, still stirring very hard in his cup. "Bubba," he calls in a kind of negative sounding tone. Abruptly he begins to stir very, very gently.

"That's fine," the mother comments clearly in approbation.

Rene picks up her Kool-Aid and drinks from it so that she peers over the edge of the glass. She seems to be watching to see what will happen

next. Peter stirs very softly for a few moments. Gradually he gets louder and louder. Rene says very firmly, "Peter, you're stirring it too loud." She drawls out the word, "loud" until it is very long and also very loudly said. "Do it ...," she suggests with a kind of funny patient gesture. She rubs hard at her face around her mouth.

"That," says Peter as he continues to stir a little more loudly than required.

Rene says, "Shh, shh." She leans her head in her hand resting her ear in the palm of her hand and says, "Shh," again and again, "shh, shh." She sounds determined; she grimaces and almost glowers.

The mother looks over at Peter and says, "Peter, I'm going to have to take that spoon if you can't do it more gently. Please," pleads the mother. "Okay?" she adds more positively, leaning over toward him as she leans on her left elbow. "You eat your noodles," she suggests matter-of-factly with a slight invitational note in her voice.

Peter begins to stir rather more softly now much more in keeping with what his mother apparently wants. "Very good!" the mother calls out happily. "Very good, Petey," she repeats. She laughs. (9'20")

Suggestions for Study

1. What did the mother want Peter to do?
2. How did she demonstrate for him the behavior she wanted?
3. When Peter caught on or decided to stir the way his mother requested, how did Mrs. Payne react?
4. What words did the mother use?
5. Rene tries to get Peter to stir softly. She copies her mother's behavior. What are the two ways she uses?
6. The mother adds another possibility to Peter. What was it?
7. Peter begins to stir softly. What is Mrs. Payne's response to his doing this?

Excerpt: 2 Subject: Connie Roper Observation: 2 Observer: M. Schoggen

The sample is from Connie Roper's record. Connie, age 3, and her brother Randy, a fifth grader, are cutting out recipes for their mother. They are at the kitchen table. Their mother also is present.

The mother steps the few steps to the kitchen table and looks over Connie's shoulder for a moment. (1'20") She says warmly, "Thank you, Sweetheart, for cutting those out. That's a big help." She sounds as if she means it.

She looks down at Connie and asks comfortably, "Do you want to take your sweater off in the house?"

Connie nods without giving it much thought; she keeps her eyes on her cutting.

The mother explains softly, "We don't need our sweaters in the house. I don't even know if you need one outside today." (1'35") The mother reaches down as she speaks and begins to tug at the sweater from Connie's right arm. Connie allows the scissors to drop off to the table while maintaining her kneeling position. She keeps her eyes on the recipe from the magazine from which she was cutting. She simply moves her body to accommodate her mother's motion in order to get the sweater off. The mother gets one arm out and Connie allows her arm to just flop to her side. She puts her right hand upon the table. The mother immediately reaches over to Connie's left arm and begins to tug that sleeve. Connie again adjusts automatically to her mother's actions. The mother gets the sweater completely off, smoothing it down as she pulls it up to herself. (1'45")

Suggestions for Study

1. How did Connie's mother express to her that she appreciated her help?
2. Did Connie know clearly what it was she had done that was "good?"
3. What explanation did Mrs. Roper give Connie about taking off her sweater?
4. Compare this with the explanation Mrs. Vogler gives Jack about getting his trucks off the driveway, excerpt 5.

Excerpt: 3 Subject: Connie Roper Observation: 1 Observer: Ellen Brown

It is lunchtime at the Ropers. Connie, age 3, Phil, age 4, and their mother are getting ready for lunch.

The mother walks very quickly over to the refrigerator door and says cheerfully to both children, "How about a piece of banana while you're waiting?" She takes the banana down off the top of the refrigerator and walks over to Phil as she speaks. She stands right in front of him, leans down toward him, and says matter-of-factly, "You want a piece of banana?"

Phil says agreeably, "Okay."

Connie nods an affirmative answer.

(1'00") The mother says patiently to Phil, "A whole one or half a one?" As she says this she hands Phil a whole banana.

Connie says very solemnly as if she has been thinking this over very carefully, "A half."

The mother replies, "I'll save the other half for Flora, okay?" Flora is the new baby.

(1'20") Phil says very energetically, "Yeah, Flora's gonna eat some. Flora'll eat a lot. She'll gobble it up!" as if he has seen Flora eat quite a bit. The mother puts half a banana down in front of Connie.

Connie announces very thoughtfully, "I've got a half." No one responds to Connie's statement. Connie continues to look thoughtfully at her banana.

The mother goes over to a cabinet, opens up the doors, and pulls out a box of napkins. She puts a folded napkin by the left side of each child's place mat commenting cheerfully to Connie, "Look. It matches. They both have blue and green flowers, don't they?" referring to both the napkins and the place mats that are made to be color matched.

Connie agrees with a nod, "Yeah." Connie mumbles a sentence to the mother to which she does not reply. Connie watches steadily as her mother picks up the honey jar from the table and unscrews the lid of it. Connie takes a bite of banana and chews it vigorously as if she is quite hungry. As she chews, she kicks the table underneath, making a loud noise.

Phil announces loudly, "I want a Girl Scout cookie."

The mother says agreeably, "Okay, you can have a Girl Scout cookie."

Connie says eagerly, "I want one too."

The mother queries to Phil, "What kind do you want?"

Phil answers promptly, "I'll show you when I get through with the lunch." He clearly wants to get it himself.

(2'15") The mother begins to take pieces of bread out of the oven.

Connie says frantically, "Put on mine. Where's mine?" She adds, "Is it still frozen?" She pronounces, frozen, as if it is spelled, fwozen.

The mother says patiently, "It's thawed, I'm gonna make yours," while spreading peanut butter on some bread. Connie sits patiently, waiting.

Phil points to the pieces that are already spread. He says, "Is that mine?"

The mother explains, "This is yours. I'm gonna make hers." She turns quickly to the oven and takes some more pieces of bread out. The mother says pleasantly to Phil, "You want honey too, Baby?"

Phil answers, "Yeah."

The mother says, "We're gonna have to buy some more honey," as she peers up into the jar. The honey jar is almost empty with just about half an inch of honey in the bottom.

Connie says pertly, "That's why I ate just a little bit."

The mother says, "We have just a little bit, that's right."

Connie agrees, "Uh huh," although I have the feeling that she really has no idea what the mother is talking about.

The mother turns the honey jar upside down. She lets the honey drip out of the mouth of the jar onto the bread. Connie continues to wait, watching eagerly. Phil is watching carefully, too. He says rather critically, "You didn't put very much on there."

The mother says firmly, "I put enough, though."

Phil queries, "Will you spread it out?"

The mother says almost impatiently, "Yes." She adds, "See, I roll it around and then the bread spreads it out when I put the other piece on." She seems very patient while she explains this to Phil.

Connie says, "Mamma, we don't got anymore honey," in a very worried tone to her mother. She adds, "We need to buy some more."

The mother acknowledges Connie's statement by saying, "Yes, we need to buy some more honey." (3'40") The mother finishes putting the sandwiches together, placing two down in front of Phil.

Phil says, "I want mine cut," in a demanding voice.

The mother finishes the statement agreeably by saying, "From the corner to the corner." She obviously knows how Phil likes it cut.

Phil echoes immediately, "From the corner to the corner," grinning in a very pleased way.

Connie watches as the mother cuts Phil's sandwich. Then she calls out in a whiny voice, "Where's the other half of my bawana?" She means, banana, but Connie's talk still has several baby talk sounds in it.

The mother says very carefully and in an explaining tone, "I put the other half away for Flora. If you want to eat it you can."

Connie says very generously, "No, I don't want it. Save it for Flora." She picks up one piece of her sandwich and takes a bite. Connie has one half of a sandwich which is cut into two pieces. Phil, on the other hand, has two entire sandwiches, each of which is cut into two pieces. Connie says something to Phil that I cannot understand because her mouth is quite full and she talks softly. Phil nods his head but says nothing in reply. He busily eats his sandwich. Connie carefully picks up her glass of milk with one hand, taking a big gulp and holding it in her mouth as she finishes chewing. She puts the glass down as soon as she has taken a drink. She swallows both the sandwich and the milk with several big swallows.

The mother says conversationally to Phil, "Thank you for bringing the mail in, Phil."

Phil says very routinely, "You're welcome." (4'25")

Suggestions for Study

1. In this section, read through and notice the kinds of questions the mother asks the children. Do you think the children understand exactly what she wants to know?
2. Find all the questions that Connie and Phil ask. How does the mother respond to each of these questions?
3. Find the sentences in the record where the mother is describing or explaining what she is doing while she is doing it.

Excerpt: 4 Subject: Jack Vogler Observation: 4 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation is in the Vogler's home. The children are Sadie, age 5, Vera, age 7, and Jack, age 3. The mother is present and also Mrs. Tyndale, a neighbor.

(16'30") Mrs. Vogler is sitting on the couch folding clothes and talking to her neighbor, Mrs. Tyndale.

There are some books in the living room. "These are mine," says Jack referring to the books, sounding very possessive although no one is threatening him.

Sadie comes out of the kitchen carrying an almost empty cornflake box, her arms in it shoulder deep. Vera looks over in her direction and threatens in a joking way, "You gonna make something outta that?" Jack watches the girls for a moment.

Jack, apparently having lost interest in his sisters' activities, walks over to the coffee table and opens his dinosaur book. He looks intently at the dinosaur picture inside the front cover. He takes off the

dust cover in a clumsy fashion, then looks closely at the picture. He seems very intent on what he is doing. He is completely unself-conscious and unaware of what else is going on.

(17'10") Jack is interrupted suddenly by his mother shouting crossly, "Jack, give that here." She is absolutely shocked at his taking the cover off the book. "That's the dinosaur book," the mother explains. "Give it here," she continues, sounding very cross again. In almost the same breath she warns Sadie, "You're gonna break that cup." She could see Sadie in the kitchen from her position on the couch. At the same time she reaches out for the dinosaur book from Jack. He sheepishly and somewhat uncertainly hands her the book, then walks over behind the coffee table.

Jack sits down on the clothes that his mother has folded. "Not on the clean clothes," warns the mother, while putting the dust cover back on the book.

In response to this Jack stretches his whole body across the folded clothes. "Get up off the clothes," warns his mother, her voice creeping up the scale. But she does seem amused and is having a hard time keeping a straight face. Jack pounds the clothes. "And quit showin' off," adds the mother with finality.

Suddenly the mother changes her tone and entreats warmly, "Can you put them in a nice pile?"

"Yeah," says Jack eagerly, completely intrigued by this he jumps to his feet.

"Can you put them in a nice pile and stack them up on the television?" asks the mother, luring him with her voice. Jack immediately stands next to the coffee table, picks up one book and puts it on top of the other. He delicately adjusts them so they are lined up together.

Jack seems oblivious to the commotion his sisters are making in the kitchen. He continues to stack the books, moving them around delicately and carefully. He seems completely absorbed in this and very happy to be doing it. (17'45")

Suggestions for Study

1. In the beginning part of this section, make a list of the things Mrs. Vogler says to Jack.
2. What attitude did she display?
3. What effect was she having on his behavior?
4. Notice the section beginning, "The mother suddenly changes her tone...." What reaction did she get from her little boy?
5. What does she say to Jack from this point on?

6. How does he respond to her changed approach?

Excerpt: 5 Subject: Jack Vogler Observation: 3 Observer: V. Neuhoff

The Vogler children were playing in the yard of their home. A friend, Tom, 5, and his two sisters were visiting.

(21'35") Jack takes off running around the corner of the house. He stops short at the door to the playhouse. Tom and two of the girls are inside and Jack joins them. It is a very small playhouse and therefore very crowded. Jack sits down on a low seat. Vera and Sadie come up from behind the playhouse and start to come into the playhouse.

Jack says in a tone of great displeasure, "No, I don't want y'all to come in here." (22'00") He puts his hands out to block their way so that they cannot get into the playhouse.

Mrs. Vogler suddenly calls out from the house, "Jack, get those trucks out of the driveway."

Jack calls back self-assertively, "Why?"

"'Cause I said to," the mother says in a tone that clearly shows that she won't take no for an answer.

Jack stands indecisively for a moment then goes toward the driveway. He stoops down in the gravel and begins to throw his cars out of the driveway and into the yard.

Suggestions for Study

1. Did Mrs. Vogler give clear directions to Jack about getting the trucks out of the driveway?
2. What reasons did she give him?
3. What other reasons could she have given Jack?
4. Why do you suppose Jack did move the trucks?
5. What did he learn about order?
6. What did he learn about safety?

Excerpt: 6 Subject: Paula Shelton Observation: 4 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation was in the home of the Shelton family. The mother was present with two of the children, Paula, 3, and Francine, 4, her sister. The

children had played with a large cardboard box earlier in the observations. It is large enough for both children to get in at once.

(12'35") Paula wanders next to Francine then leans hard against her.

"Quit it," says Francine in no uncertain terms, giving Paula a hard shove to push her away.

"I'm going to get in this box," says Paula. As she speaks she approaches the large cardboard box. There is no response from Francine. Paula picks the box up off its side on the floor. One side is pushed in. Laboriously she pulls and tugs at the side in an unsystematic way but manages to pull it open. It takes her about ten seconds of steady work to do this. She laboriously puts one leg in the box; this is not easy as she is quite small compared to the box. She begins to put her other leg in. Before Paula can completely get into the box, Francine darts over to the box. She pushes the box over, knocking the box and Paula on the floor. Paula is still largely inside the box however. Paula makes protesting noises and squeals at the same time but her protests are very real. She falls out of the overturned box onto the floor. (13'00") She reaches up to Francine. Paula locks hands with Francine; they grasp each others hands tightly. Paula pulls Francine down to the floor, pulling hard and strenuously, full of anger. She abruptly lets go of Francine. Francine stands up looking quite blank, as if she is above all this. Paula retreats into the box again which is still tipped completely on its side.

Francine gets up and purposefully walks around behind the box then leans hard on the box. I am not able to see Paula, obviously, as she is completely covered up in the box.

"Quit it!" calls Paula from inside the box. "Mamma," she calls in a complaining, demanding tone. The mother is busy in the kitchen washing clothes and does not pay any attention. Francine clambers up on top of the box, then gaily slides down the side of the box.

"Quit! Quit! Quit!" calls Paula sounding really distressed that Francine is ruining her play. She begins to crawl out of the box, running into Francine, who is reaching the bottom of her slide. Francine really lands partly on top of Paula. Both girls giggle boisterously at this; they shout, not words, just sounds. "Get out of me, get out of me," shouts Paula to Francine now sounding cross again, her giggling over. She adds, "Boy!" to this in the same kind of tone I have heard many times from adults to children. "Get off of me, boy!" she calls smartly again. She looks up at Francine as she says this; she looks quite mischievous.

Francine suddenly bends down and tickles Paula vigorously. Paula giggles boisterously. Francine partially pushes the box off of Paula. "Don'tchu call me boy," Francine orders with mock fierceness in her voice; she giggles happily, however.

The mother looks in for a moment and says in a languid, mildly reprimanding tone of voice, "Francine!" Francine just stands there looking blank. Paula gets up. She runs to the kitchen pulling up her pants as she goes. (14'05")

Suggestions for Study

1. In the section where Paula is inside the box, what is Francine doing?
2. What response does the mother make to Paula's call from the box?
3. The mother reprimands, "Francine." From the information in the record, what response does Francine make?
4. What do you see as the mother's purpose in saying, "Francine." In other words what was the mother's goal for Francine?

Excerpt: 7 Subject: Paula Shelton Observation: 4 Observer: M. Schoggen

This excerpt is from the Shelton record, same as Excerpt 6. In this section, Francine and Paula were playing in the bedroom.

(1'05") Francine abruptly jumps off the bed, runs through the living room through the dining-bedroom, and into the kitchen. Paula follows almost immediately after her. She clearly is following Francine.

The mother is fixing a bottle for the baby in the kitchen while the washing machine is still going. "Francine, don't do that," the mother reprimands in a languid, lackadaisical way. I do not know to what she refers. Something may have happened before I got there or she may refer to the fact that Francine is now running around and around the kitchen. (1'30")

Francine continues to run breathlessly around the table and washer. The children continued this wild running for 22 minutes with no further comment from the mother.

Suggestions for Study

1. What did the mother say to Francine?
2. How did the mother speak to Francine?
3. Was it clear to Francine what her mother wanted?
4. The observer noted that she believed the mother may have wanted Francine to stop running around. If this was the case, how did the mother's reprimand affect the child's behavior?

Excerpt: 8 Subject: Owen Edward Culster Observation: 4 Observer: J. Reeves

This record was made in the Culster's home. Owen Edward, 3, his father, mother, and five-year-old sister, Opal were sitting in the living room-

kitchen, looking through magazines which had just been left by a friend.

(15'00") Owen looks over at his mother, Opal and at his father, who are all looking at magazines. Opal comes across from the counter and sits beside him. Looking at her and smiling, Owen hits her on the head. This seems to be a fairly common thing! It has happened several times earlier. He hits her several times very hard, still smiling slightly. Without complaint, she gets down and walks over to the cabinet and picks up a magazine. Owen watches her while she does this. She returns to sit down beside him. Owen vigorously grabs the magazine out of her hand and hits her hard, smiling as he does so. Opal begins to cry as if she has reached her limit. Owen begins laughing with pleasure at the result of his actions then takes another bite of his cake and begins chewing, no longer noticing Opal. She apparently does not continue crying very long. I do not notice when she stops. Owen Edward gets up from the couch, walks over to the door, and starts to go into the bedroom.

His father calls him matter-of-factly, "Owen." I think he wants Owen in the living area. Owen, a smile on his face, turns around and runs eagerly toward his father. He stops short, just before he gets to his father and stands there. His father, who is sitting in the white chair, has already looked back at his magazine, and does not even notice Owen Edward standing there. Owen Edward peers over at the magazine to see if perhaps his father wants to show him something. His father pays absolutely no attention to him. (15'30")

Owen, blank-faced, turns and walks back over to the couch. He starts to climb up on the couch, but then he abruptly turns. He takes a few steps in the direction of the bedroom.

Suggestions for Study

1. From the information in this record, what was it that the father wanted Owen to do?
2. What happened between Owen and his father when Owen came to him?
3. Take note how much and what kind of talking occurs in this segment.

Comments

When the parents' directions are specific and the explanation is clear, the child is more likely to do what is expected. When directions are not clear there is no way to tell for sure what the child may be learning.

In the preceding examples that represent the day to day experiences of several children, various patterns appear. Some mothers tell the child exactly what they want done. Some seem to pay attention to the child only when he is annoying them. Children may learn attitudes toward other people by the way his parents handle him.

Children also find out what kinds of behavior will be rewarded or ignored. For example in some homes the adults are more likely to want children to stop doing something rather than to encourage them to explore their surroundings. (Gray, Klaus, Miller, and Forrester, 1966)

Researchers Hess and Shipman studied the ways mothers interacted with their children. They found three common styles used by mothers. First, the mother defended her action by appealing to what was generally considered to be right or proper in her family or social group, for example, "Boys don't cry," or "Do that because I said so!" A second, the mother asserted her authority as in the first but also gave a little more explanation that included emotional feelings, such as, "Don't tease your sister. It will make her feel bad." In a third way, the mother helped the child to learn to reason out a situation, e.g., "If you eat candy now, you won't be hungry for your lunch." Hess and Shipman concluded that a child learned a style of interpreting his experiences early in life. Children who have been taught by adults who usually appeal only to authority may have trouble relating to more complicated kinds of learning later on.

In Excerpt 5, Mrs. Vogler gives specific instructions to Jack. He clearly understands what he should do. However, she does not give any explanation as why this is to be done therefore limiting the possibility that he could use that information in another similar situation. In Excerpt 7, the mother seems to be trying to get the child to stop running around. She gives no positive suggestions or alternatives for the child to try. Another time in the same family the mother tells Francine to "behave" which implies that the child should stop doing what she is doing. However, the command does not teach the child which part of what she is doing is wrong. The mother was not effective in that immediate situation nor did she help the child to know what would be acceptable behavior in the future. (This incident is in another record that is not included in this book.)

Another idea suggested by Dr. Gray is that in some families brothers and sisters often direct and react to the child more than the mother acts or responds to him. In Excerpt 6, it is noticeable how much of Paula's activity is directed and influenced by her sister, Francine. The mother does not guide the children's activities, except to say, "Francine." When Owen, Excerpt 8, was hurting his sister enough to make her cry, no adult intervened. When Owen responded to his father's call, his father had nothing to say to him. In fact, Owen was totally ignored. He was getting very little attention and much less talking to in this excerpt. This happened many times when the observers were there. It probably has been happening since he was born. What can a teacher do when a child comes to school with a "lifetime" of experiences that have offered him limited and uncertain contact with adults?

Chapter II

Curriculum Mothers Provide at Home

A curriculum for a young child includes all the experiences that contribute to his learning. Learning for our purpose here will be defined as any change that occurs in a child's attitudes, skills, and understandings. An attitude is a readiness to respond in a particular way to objects or situations. The child acquires these attitudes by his previous experiences. A skill is an activity that is basic to further learning. Understanding is the process of attaching meaning to words and events.

Children learn at home as well as at school. The mother provides a curriculum for him although many times neither mother nor child is aware of it. It is most helpful to the child in today's technological society if the learning he experiences at home prepares him for his school experiences. In some homes, this is not the case.

In elementary school in the United States, the child, in order to be successful, will need first a positive attitude toward schoolwork. This means he will need to see the teacher as a source of information and as a concerned, caring adult. He will need to feel that he can be independent and competent. He will need to develop persistence in a task and be able to wait for a reward for an accomplishment. Second, he will need skills that are related to school activities. Skills can be as general as learning to pay attention, or following a spoken direction by the teacher. Skills can be as specific as learning to cut with scissors, or controlling a crayon. Since much schoolwork is verbal in nature, a child needs skill with words. Third, a child needs to develop understanding of himself and the world around him. He needs help from birth on to fit his experiences together in a meaningful way.

In the following excerpts there will be examples of mothers providing helpful curriculum for their children at home. This kind of curriculum helps the child understand his immediate experiences as well as prepare him for the next step in learning. There will also be examples of mothers providing curriculum which is not generally useful.

Language is a very important part of curriculum and another whole chapter will be devoted to it.

Excerpt: 9 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 3 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation is made at lunchtime in the Payne home. Mrs. Payne, her helper and friend, Margie, Rene, 3, and Peter, 2, are present.

The mother and Margie have been talking about guns and Margie had talked about somebody who had had a particular toy and then she ends by saying, ".... and so he gave it away."

(12'30") Rene apparently has been listening to this although there had been no clue that she has. She appears to be paying attention because she turns to Margie and asks insistently, "Who did he give it to? Who did he give it to?"

"He gave it to my little cousin," says Margie looking at her, laughing as she too apparently had not thought that Rene was listening.

The mother laughs and says, "Oh, who did he give it to. Yes," as if she understands now what Rene's question is. Rene's first question was said while she still had a mouthful of noodles which did make it rather hard to understand. Rene sniffs in an absent way and still standing, she casually rubs her nose with her hand. She picks up her mug of Kool-Aid and takes a big satisfying drink, then turns to her mother. (13'00") She says with interest and slowly as if she is remembering, "What is my two cousins' names?" The word "cousin" appears to have gotten her off on this train of thought.

"They're more than two," says the mother explaining. "The girls are Winifred and Amy and Annette who is almost....." She pauses as if thinking. She explains more fully, "She's a kissing cousin, I guess, because she is such a good friend," to Rene looking directly at Rene all the while.

Rene watches her mother's face which contorts with interest and expression as she speaks to Rene. Her tone, too, is interested and full of change. Rene still holding her Kool-Aid, takes another drink; her face looks as if she is assimilating this information. She puts the Kool-Aid down on the table and looks over at her mother in an interested way. The mother remains looking at her.

"Can we go and see them some day?" asks Rene with interest.

The mother nods her head vigorously and says agreeably, "Sometime." Rene nods her head as well. I believe she may even start nodding her head before she finishes her question.

Peter turns to his mother saying, "Ba ba ba ba," and grinning very broadly. He sounds very happy. Rene looks directly at her mother who turns and smiles at Peter then looks immediately back to Rene.

"Sometime," says Rene as if thinking. She pauses. "Sometime our cousins will be old," she says thoughtfully. She repeats sounding wise, "Sometime our cousins will be old." She pauses again and then she adds, "And they will stop to die," with great finality.

"But that'll be a long time," the mother comforts knowingly, nodding her head in basic agreement with what Rene said.

Rene says softly as if thinking about this, "All long time and they'll get old."

Margie says something to the mother about an old shaggy dog for which somebody had paid \$30. The mother looks over at her and laughs and says, "Well, once Rene had a giraffe picked out that she would have liked to have bought." She laughs remembering this.

Rene says, "You know what Mommy? You know what Mommy?" she repeats in an effort to get her mother's attention. "I, I'mmm," she says importantly. She pauses. The mother leans forward on the table and looks directly

at her. "Greta got lots of dogs," Rene says in a rather interested tone. (14'00") "Greta got lots of dogs," she repeats in an explaining tone. "And they're all home. Some are in Ashten and some are in Tennessee," she says, her tone suggests that she is giving her mother some very interesting information. She continues to stand while taking a big bite of noodles as she finishes saying this as if she has said something important. At the same time she seems to be attentive to her mother's response. The mother continues to lean forward so that she is not very far from Rene's face. She looks directly at Rene. Rene bounces up and down two or three times.

The mother says to Rene, "Were these stuffed dogs?" as if she has not perfectly understood. Then the mother adds, "Maybe Texas," meaning that perhaps it is not Tennessee that Rene means but Texas. "Ashten is in Tennessee," the mother explains carefully. "Greta used to live in Texas," the mother continues her explanation.

"In Tescu," says Rene emphasizing the word, "Tescu." "It's a very big one," says Rene with great emphasis on each word, indicating by the loudness of her tone and the slowness of her tone how big "Tescu" is.

"The biggest state," agrees the mother nodding her head. "Texas is the biggest state," says the mother emphasizing "is" and sounding presently pleased with Rene's information. "Did Greta tell you that?" asks the mother as if to get her information straight.

"Mmmmm mmm," says Rene in a tone which is very hard to describe, but which suggests that the mother ought to know who told her.

"Who told you that?" asks the mother turning to Margie and commenting, "L.B.J.," in a tone that suggests that she does not approve of "L.B.J."

"Tod did," (Ted) says Rene firmly. "Tod did," she repeats with finality giving her mother the desired information.

"The country of the tall hat," Margie says laughing and agreeing with the mother's disapproval. The mother reaches over and straightens Rene's smock out a little bit in a warm loving gesture.

"One thing I know," says Rene, "it's the biggest one," sounding certain of this piece of information. Rene seems to pay no attention to the mother's adjusting her smock. (15'00") "Winton's sister," says Rene as if she is trying to think of something.

"Winton's brother," asks the mother "Ted?"

Rene nods her head saying, "Mmmmm hummm," meaning that what she means is that Ted is really Winton's brother. Rene rubs her face absently.

Peter, who has been sitting relatively quietly eating, now makes several loud nonsense noises as if just to enter the conversation.

The mother nods as she says, "Winton's brother, Ted," indicating she understands and that Rene now has it right.

Rene rubs her face absently and asks her mother, "Is Tod four?" as if she really wants information.

"Ted is five," says the mother correcting but correcting pleasantly and indicating that she is pleased to give her the information. "Five. Ted is five," the mother repeats with interest. "Ted is more than four," the mother says explaining further.

(15'22") "And that Tod's....," Rene begins. She says, "Tod" for "Ted" but says it very distinctly all the same. After a longish pause she makes several sounds as if she is struggling with an idea or some words. The mother patiently sits and looks at her waiting for her to finish. "TodTod is Wint's brother," Rene says working very hard at getting these words out as if she is trying to sort these people out.

Peter makes some noisy comments. The mother flicks him a smiling glance but quickly looks back to Rene. The mother wiggles her hand in the air in some sort of a signal to Margie. Margie smiles. I think it has to do with Rene's struggle with this idea; they had apparently talked about this before as they seem to discuss all the children.

Rene sits as if she is still thinking. Rene's face remains attentive. She takes another bite of noodles, however, while she thinks. Peter makes another nonsense comment which I do not understand. Rene looks up at him just flicking him a glance but she looks interested. She puts her foot onto the rung of the chair and stands up on it which puts her even higher at the table. She rubs her face absently. She bounces up and down on the stool as she chews. Rene says as if thinking, "Wint is big and Tod (Ted) is big." She looks over at her mother as she finishes this statement as if to see what her response will be. Her mother looks directly at her.

The mother, sounding as if she is making a summary talks with interest, "Ted is bigger than Wint." This is just stating a relationship. (16'07") The mother continues retaining her "stating some facts" tone as she adds, "And Ted is older than Wint." The mother stands as she finishes this statement. She adds a little more speedily with some amusement, "And not very much older and not very much bigger." She holds up her right hand with her index finger and thumb slightly apart, no more than half an inch as if to indicate what a little bit bigger Ted is than Winton.

Rene looks up at her mother and says interestedly, "Tod....," and she leaves this word dangling as she begins to hold up her finger. She holds up the index finger and then the next one next, and then her pinky. This takes her a little time. As she does this she also slides completely off the stool until she is standing up. The mother is also standing up next to the sink. The mother watches Rene closely as she does this. Then Rene says still looking at her fingers, "Is Tod (Ted) four?"

The mother looks down at her and says a smile on her face, but with just a tinge of impatience in her voice, "Ted is five," emphasizing the word, five. "And Winton is four," she repeats very slowly and emphasizing each word of the last sentence. (16'30")

Suggestions for Study

1. Scan through excerpt 9 and notice how often the observer mentions that Mrs. Payne is looking directly into Rene's eyes. How do you think this affects Rene's ability to pay attention?
2. Rene pronounces Texas, "Tescu." How does Mrs. Payne handle Rene's error in pronunciation? Was this a comfortable learning situation for Rene?
3. Rene was trying out some information that she knew, that Texas is the biggest state. What was Mrs. Payne's response to Rene? Find an indication of Rene's confidence in knowing this information.
4. Rene makes an error saying Winton's sister instead of brother. How does Mrs. Payne correct her?
5. Rene asks, "Is Tod four?" How does Mrs. Payne answer this question? What further explanation does she give?
6. Follow Rene's progress in working with the idea of the sizes of her cousins. Note exactly what she says as she seems to be thinking out loud.
7. Find the amount and kind of information Mrs. Payne gives to Rene to help her think it out.
8. What gestures does Mrs. Payne use to help Rene understand what she means?

Excerpt: 10 Subject: Connie Roper Observation: 1 Observer: E. Brown

This is from the same observation as excerpt 3. It is lunchtime. The mother, Phil, 4 and Connie, 3, are present.

(4'30") The mother comes back into the kitchen. She pulls up a chair and sits down at the end of the table between Connie and Phil. She lays a large stack of mail down on the table and she begins to go through it systematically, looking quickly at the front of each piece of mail. The mother says routinely, "Here's something for Randy," looking at one piece of mail.

Connie says very eagerly, "Can I open it?"

The mother says, "No, we'll save it for Randy. I'll give you some other stuff to open," the mother adds as if trying to placate Connie, at the same time continuing to look at the mail.

Connie puts her finger from her left hand into her mouth. She sucks it thoughtfully. She takes it out. She picks up a piece of sandwich in her right hand. She takes a bite of the sandwich. She puts the sandwich down immediately.

The mother says brightly, "Oh, here's a letter from Francie." She picks it up as if showing the children the letter.

Connie says, "Can I open it?" very eagerly. Connie continues to chew her sandwich. She picks up her glass of milk and takes a drink very quickly. She puts the glass down. All of this occurs quickly after she asks her question and before her mother can answer.

The mother says agreeably, "All right, I'll save it for you." She nods as she speaks. The mother says, "Open it when you are through with your lunch, okay?" She looks directly at Connie as she says this.

Connie takes another gulp of milk and puts the glass down quickly. She pats the table to her left with her left hand. She says to her mother, "Put it right there," very directly, referring to the place she pats. Connie says mostly to herself in excitement, "It's from Francie." Connie says more insistently to the mother, "Put it right there," patting the table again. The mother agreeably puts the letter down where Connie points then goes back to looking through the mail. Connie says in a thoughtful way to her mother, "When're we gonna get another one from Gran?"

The mother says, "I don't have a letter from Gran. Not today," she says. It is as if she has not really listened to what Connie asked.

(5'20") Connie takes another big gulp of milk. She does not seem bothered by her mother's response. She puts her glass down immediately swallowing the milk in several swallows. She points to the letter and says to herself, "We got one from Francie." Connie seems quite excited about this event. Apparently Francie is a relative of the Ropers. She puts her hand on top of the envelope. She points to the stamp then wiggles her fingers around, putting the tips of each finger down on the letter one at a time. She says, "I want Gran to come," in an almost whining tone very wistfully to her mother.

The mother questions, "To come and see us?" Connie grins happily and nods. The mother gets up from the table and walks over to the small closet on the other side of the kitchen. She says warmly, "Well, Gran will come back when it gets warmer. But she doesn't like the cold weather down here." The mother walks through the kitchen, past me and into the playroom again. She reiterates more convincingly to Connie, "She'll probably come back when the weather's warmer." Connie looks past me to the mother with a very serious expression on her face. She seems to be thinking over her mother's statement. She looks back down at her food. She picks up her sandwich and takes a quick bite then puts the sandwich down again very quickly.

The mother says brightly as she walks through the playroom behind me, "I was writing a letter to Gran a minute ago, Connie, and I didn't get to finish it." She walks back into the kitchen. Connie makes no reply to this remark. She sits looking at her plate, but not doing anything. She seems to be still thinking about the letters. The mother closes the cupboard door without looking as she goes by quickly. She walks over to the sink, picks up the glass which is next to the sink and is full of water, and takes a quick drink. She puts the glass back down again.

Connie takes a bite of her sandwich. She puts the sandwich back down on the table. She then takes a quick drink of milk and puts the glass down very quickly. The mother says something about getting her lunch, conversationally to the children. Connie nods and Phil nods without saying anything.

The mother opens the refrigerator door. She looks inside as if trying to find something she wants to eat. Phil has been paying little attention to the talk between Connie and the mother. It is characteristic of him that when he gets his sandwiches he eats them up very fast. The mother calls out from the refrigerator, "You want some chipped beef, Phil?"

Phil answers quite firmly, "No." Then he turns suddenly to his mother as if having changed his mind. He says, "Yes!" very eagerly. He says again firmly, "Yeah," and he nods definitely.

The mother says, "Want some chipped beef?" again to Phil. This seems more an answer to his answer than another question. Phil does not reply again. The mother hands Phil two small plastic bags in each of which is some chipped beef.

Connie watches interestedly as the mother does this. She calls out loudly, "I want some bologna."

The mother says, "We don't have any bologna. O yes we do! Here's some." She takes a package out of the refrigerator. She walks over to the table. As she walks, she maneuvers one piece of bologna out of the package. She says to Connie, "You can have the last piece." She says this as if it should be a great treat for Connie. She puts the package down with the piece of bologna stuck partly out of it on the table next to Connie.

Connie says loudly, "I'm takin' all the bologna, Mamma." She seems to be pleased with herself for being able to have the last piece of bologna.

Phil echoes firmly, "I'm takin' all the chipped beef." His voice is quite gruff. (7'00")

Suggestions for Study

1. Find examples where the mother is expecting Connie to be able to wait for something she wants to do, or have happen.
2. List all the objects to which either the mother or children give labels.
3. What do you think Connie and Phil are learning about having conversations with adults? Compare this to Owen Culster's experience in excerpt 8.
4. What happens in this excerpt that may be making Connie look forward to writing and reading.
5. How did Mrs. Roper try to help Connie understand when "Gran" could be expected to come visit?

Look back to Excerpt 3

6. In this excerpt, how is Mrs. Roper helping Connie and Phil learn some beginning number concepts from concrete objects?
7. Find in this sample where the mother used the ordinary objects in their home to teach likenesses, matching.
8. Note that both the mother and the children use specific labels for the objects. Find some that not only are named but also described.
9. Notice the amount of repetition used by the mother and children.
10. Can you find an example of Connie's understanding of differences in amount?
11. List all the words that denote quantity.

Excerpt: 11 Subject: Zane Rubens Observation: 1 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation was in the home of the Rubens family. Mrs. Rubens was fixing lunch for Phil, 4, Zane, 3, and Ginger, 1½. She had three bowls, large, medium size, and small. These were the only bowls the family possessed.

(10'30") The mother goes over to the stove then returns carrying the pan of soup. She spoons some of the soup into the biggest bowl. She stops abruptly, wordlessly, she puts the pan back on the stove and walks over to the cupboard to get a ladle. Ginger knocks an empty bowl onto the floor then stands up to look at it as it falls. She makes a couple of loud noises, not words at all, which seem to be mimicking the soft thuds of the falling bowl.

Zane languidly turns his head to look at the bowl and looks back at Ginger as she makes noises. He really just looks tired at the moment. Ginger, still standing, reaches over to get one of the cups in the middle of the table. Zane slides from his chair in a very slow, easy way, picks up the bowl from the floor and slides back on his seat. As Ginger reaches toward the full cups, Phil shouts very loudly and demandingly an, "ah" sound.

"Leave them alone, leave them alone," shouts the mother, ordering very loudly. "Leave the dishes alone," calls the mother, but not quite as loudly as before.

"Ma-a-a," screams Zane, almost as loudly as Phil, in a very demanding way, stringing out the word. He is trying to get the mother's attention focused on Ginger's action. This scream on Zane's part interrupts Zane's action of putting the bowl back where it was.

The mother comes over and scolds Zane harshly, "Leave that bowl alone." This is the bowl that Zane has retrieved from the floor and is in the

process of leaving it on the table. Apparently the mother has not seen any of this. "I'm gonna whip you," threatens the mother mildly to the three children. This appears to be an idle threat, more a commentary than anything else.

Ginger picks up the yellow cup which is very full. Phil takes one of the other cups. Zane reaches for the pink one which is left. It is not as full as the other two. Perhaps it is intended for Ginger. Zane looks closely at the pink cup.

(11'20") "I'm gonna give you a whipping," says the mother again, this time to Zane only. She sounds as if she is partly serious but as if she is also partly teasing. It appears to be a continuation of the earlier threat. The mother comes over walking menacingly, stopping at the stove, however, and as abruptly as she started her threat she takes the pan of soup off the stove. She puts the ladle into the pan as she listlessly walks the few steps to the table then ladles soup into one of the three bowls. She stops after one ladleful. She abruptly reaches over to Phil's place and moves his cup to the center of the table. She purposefully does the same to the other two cups then replaces them to the middle of the table. Without pause she resumes ladling the soup into the bowl.

The children sit down in their chairs except for Ginger, who kneels on her chair. All three watch very closely as the mother ladles the soup. Phil reaches for the cup of juice. Zane stealthily reaches out and gets the yellow one which is full. Ginger delicately grasps the pink one which is only partly full. Zane takes a long drink of juice. The mother flicks him a glance which has a warning kind of meaning, but she does nothing further. Zane looks at her but apparently feels quite secure in what he is doing as he simply continues to drink. Zane's look was almost a challenge; I had the impression that it is a common occurrence for the children to try and try again if behavior is forbidden; the risk apparently is worth the gain. Perhaps by drinking from the cup, Zane establishes his claim firmly. He puts the cup down but keeps his hands on it.

"It's hot, Ginger," says the mother sweetly, warning her daughter of the danger.

(12'00") "Hot, hot," repeats Phil loudly. The mother looks over at him as if she disapproves of his behavior but Phil appears to ignore her. Zane watches very wide-eyed as his mother ladles the soup.

"It's hot Ginger," warns the mother sweetly again.

"Hot," shouts Phil again. He appears to be using this opportunity for making loud noises! The mother looks at Phil as if she is most annoyed again.

"It's hot, Ginger," repeats the mother, patiently warning her small daughter.

"No, no," says Ginger as if she wishes it were not hot.

"Burn your mouth," the mother warns Ginger matter-of-factly, but as if she is thinking about something else.

"Hot, hot," shouts Phil almost gaily.

Zane picks up his glass of juice and drinks from it, taking a long satisfying drink. As he does so, he peers over the rim of the cup, watching his mother very interestedly, as she continues to pour the soup. He takes another deep satisfying drink, his eyes leaving his mother for that moment. He takes the glass from his mouth and looks at it. There are some pieces of a decal on the cup. He looks closely at this as if he is interested. He rubs his finger over the decal bits.

The mother puts the soup in front of the children, the largest bowl for Zane, the middle size bowl to Phil, and the littlest bowl to Ginger. Mrs. Rubens puts spoons down, jockeying them around as if she has a particular spoon for a particular child. She immediately turns and shuffles back to the cupboard. She picks up two boxes of crackers, one of Premium square crackers and the Ritz round crackers. "What kind of crackers you want?" she asks languidly, speaking to all of the children, as she walks slowly back to the table. She repeats the question, sounding more alive, "What kind of crackers you want, Phil?" The mother begins to open the Ritz cracker box with the handle of the spoon, without looking at Phil. Phil looks over at his mother and then at the crackers. "What kind? Ritz?" asks the mother looking at Phil. She sounds tired as if she wishes that he would make up his mind.

"...mmm....I like that," Phil says as if he is thinking. He points to the Ritz crackers then decides, "I like those," sounding very sure of himself, pointing to the Ritz crackers. He quickly says, "No, I want those," sounding very sure of himself, pointing to the Ritz crackers. It seems quite dramatic to me, as I observe, to notice that the mother refers to these crackers by their trade names rather than using this opportunity to teach form and color differentiation, as Ritz crackers are round and yellow, while Premium crackers are square and white. The mother accepts this answer. She indicates this by turning to Zane. She asks, as if she wishes she were through, "What kind do you want, Zane?" Zane points to the Premium crackers by slowly raising his hand. He points waveringly, as if he is not at all sure. He reaches for his cup and takes a big drink as he watches his mother continue to work at opening the Ritz cracker package. "I want this, Mamma," he says more loudly and sounding certain, as he points to the Ritz crackers.

(13'07") "Which one do you want, Zane?" asks the mother sounding just a little impatient. "This?" she asks, languidly, pointing to the Ritz crackers.

"Yes," he affirms surely, nodding as he says it.

"Do you want this?" the mother asks, almost in the same breath as she points to the Premium crackers.

"Yes," he says with equal sureness, as if he wants both kinds. "I want this," demands Phil hopefully, pointing to the Fritos.

"I don't know if you're going to get any," says the mother petulantly, as if she is cross and tired. Phil looks away without expression change. It was as if he had not really expected to get Fritos, but it was worth a try. The mother's mouth breaks into a partial grin. I had the impression that she had suddenly become very much aware of my presence. Absently she says, "It's hot, Ginger!" about the soup.

"Hey, Mom, look at that tie," exclaims Zane interestedly as he holds up the plastic cup with the rabbit figure on it. The raised figure of the rabbit has a tie on its neck. Zane's eyes shine. He looks very interested. The mother does not look; it is as if she has not heard him though she clearly does. Zane repeats, "Look at that tie, Mom," still looking very alert and interested.

"What's that, a rabbit?" the mother asks, responding to Zane but not really paying attention to him. She does not respond to his specific comment.

Zane agrees, "Um hum," as if satisfied, then sits quietly relaxed, waiting. I think he is waiting for his soup to cool. The mother places some crackers on the table by the boys' plates. (13'39")

Suggestions for Study

1. Look through the preceding section and note how many times the mother gives negative commands to the children.
2. Zane had decided on his own to pick a bowl off the floor and put it on the table. How did his mother respond to this?
3. How does Mrs. Rubens respond to Zane's comment about the tie on the rabbit?
4. Does she encourage the children to be curious?
5. Compare Mrs. Rubens response to Zane's comment about the soup being hot to Mrs. Payne's response to Rene when she talks about the sizes of Wint and Ted. (Excerpt 9: "Wint is big and Tod is big.")
6. What might each child be learning about adults as a resource for information?
7. Notice which size bowl the mother gave to which size child.
8. In what ways could the mother have turned this natural occurrence into a teaching situation?
9. List some ways the mother could have helped the children see the difference between round and square by using the crackers.

10. The mother talks with Phil about which kind of cracker he wants. Note the words he uses to tell her. Compare this with the conversation at the Ropers (Excerpt 3) about the banana. Also (Excerpt 10). Notice the mother's conversation with Phil and Connie about what they want for lunch.

Excerpt: 12 Subject: Owen Edward Culster Observation: 7 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation was made in the Culster's home. It is afternoon. The mother is present with the children, Wanda, 7, Opal, 5, Owen Edward, 3, Oliver Walker, 1½, and the baby, Earl.

(2'00") Owen watches Oliver and Opal very intently for a few moments, looking at the whole situation rather than looking from one to another. Opal and Oliver Walker go over to the black chair which stands in front of the closet built out into the room. Owen watches very intently for several more seconds, while they play with Wanda's school satchel in a rather aimless fashion. With more interest on her face, Opal takes Wanda's crayons from the satchel while Owen watches interestedly. As if gradually becoming aware of what they have, his eyes become more alert as he begins to realize that they have the crayons.

Opal and Oliver are just grabbing the crayons out of the box in a hurried fashion, looking at them as they take them out. It is almost as if they hurry to do something with the crayons before they are discovered and stopped. They appear to be fingering them as if simply feeling the texture; only one or two still have a paper wrapper. There may be no paper for coloring on in the house. Their movements are quick and a little "wild," as if these crayons are only for Wanda to take to school. Owen slides off the bed, as if not even noticing his movement. He is so intent on where he is going, that he does not pay any attention to how he gets there. He walks purposefully over to the chair, where Oliver and Opal are. (2'40") Owen takes Wanda's school satchel from the chair. Opal goes out of the room to talk with her mother about the crayons. She moves quickly with purpose; her going appears unrelated to Owen's approach.

Owen stands next to the chair maneuvering Wanda's bag without really looking at it; he just moves it around with his hands, turning it this way and that. Apparently he is not even feeling of it. He has a very blank, faraway look in his eyes.

Opal is talking excitedly to her mother about the crayons. I cannot understand her words. Though it is possible that Owen Edward is listening to Opal, it does not appear that he is attending to anything. He looks absently over at Wanda, who is still mothering the baby in a very sweet way. Opal runs back into the room, crayons in hand. Oliver continues to maneuver the school satchel with his hands.

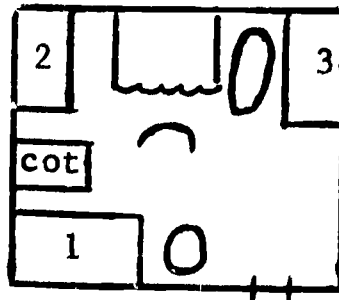
(3'20") Owen demands insistently, loudly, "Ma-ma, Ma-ma." His voice carries a tattling tone, and I believe he was going to say something about

Opal having Wanda's crayons. He walks through the door as if he is going out to his mother.

The mother calls somewhat fiercely, "You stay in there." She is still mopping the floor. She sounds as if she means it; she seems engrossed in her mopping and does not want to be disturbed. There is a momentary lull in the noise level as if the children take in this order. Owen stands there for that split-second. Oliver Walker, Opal, Wanda, and the baby immediately resume making noises. Owen squeals and snorts too. Except for the clucking and cooing of Wanda, all the other children are making wild animal-like noises, grunts, and squeals. The effect is total chaos. Opal and Oliver are back in the black chair, both sitting on the seat. Opal still has the crayon box in her lap holding the big red crayon in her hand. Very vigorously and suddenly she colors a few strokes on the arm of the black chair.

Oliver walks over toward the chair from near the door, quietly looking at the chair arm interestedly as Opal colors on the arm. Oliver's eyes half close, as if he is taking this in. Oliver grins slightly. He walks from the chair toward bed #1.

Owen goes past Wanda. He pats her head. This is not a friendly pat; it is very quick and surreptitious. Opal walks away from the chair. She drops the crayons on bed #1. Owen Edward deliberately walks over to this bed, picks up the crayon box and a couple of scattered crayons in a quick sweeping motion. Standing there, he very carefully begins to put the other crayons that he had picked up, into the box. He works intently yet with very delicate though awkward motions. He seems completely engrossed in this. Opal is still chattering with Oliver Walker at a great rate.



Oliver is responding to her verbally, but with words which I do not understand, and which do not sound like real words. Opal's words, however, sound as if they really are words, although I am not able to distinguish them, as I am intent on Owen. (4'30") Owen sticks his tongue out. It appears to be deliberate as if he is sticking it out at somebody. It could be me, his mother, or Opal. Owen half closes his eyes again; he looks very unfriendly and unpleasant. He walks over to the black chair, still carrying the box of crayons in one hand and several crayon pieces in the other.

He stands there and pretends to use the orange crayon as a lipstick, making his mouth wiggle around, the way a woman does when she puts on lipstick. He does not actually touch the crayon to his lips, at first, but as he continues to do this for several seconds, he gets quite involved and rubs the crayon vigorously across his lips. While he stands putting the crayons back in the box, he makes a spitting noise as if spitting the crayon off his lips. He repeats the spitting sound, still working at the crayons. The third time he spits, he clears his throat first and then spits, in an imitation of a man spitting. He does this four more times, in rapid succession, as if getting more and more involved in the spitting itself, and

further away from the origin of the spitting. He grins broadly as he spits, as if he is thinking of something.

Opal wanders around aimlessly, yet at the same time making vigorous motions. As Opal goes past Wanda, she pats Wanda on the head, in a teasing way. Opal goes around Wanda several times. As she goes around Wanda, she taps Wanda on the head, every time she completes the circle.

Owen looks up at her grinning in a very mischievous way, as if what Opal is doing looks like a good game. He hastily stuffs the last crayon into the box. Still carrying the crayon box, he walks toward Wanda and begins to follow Opal as she walks around Wanda. Wanda, who is still chattering at the baby, pretends to take no notice of the pats at first, though she clearly does feel it. Opal is making noises, just vocalizations which do not appear to be words, as she goes around Wanda. Oliver and the baby are also making noises.

Opal and Owen continue to circle Wanda, very fast now. At each complete turn, Opal pats Wanda's head, occasionally pulling Wanda's hair. Owen, too, pats Wanda's head, pulling her hair a bit as he goes around swiftly, almost wildly.

Wanda looks up at Opal and says, "Opal, stop that!" in a tone which has the same fierce quality as her mother's. (5'10") Owen and Opal continue to go around and hit Wanda each time.

"Stop! Stop!" yells Wanda, loudly now. Her message is to both Opal and Owen and perhaps with hope that her mother will hear. Owen grins broadly, enjoying her discomfort. On the next round Wanda strikes out at Opal and Owen. She does not aim her hits, but rather sends out a flurry of hits hoping one will hit home.

She again shouts in a pained tone, "Stop!"

Owen attacks her bodily, pummeling her only a few times, not at all seriously hardly interrupting his progress around her to do this. As he goes around the next time, he falls backward onto bed #1 grinning very broadly and laughing aloud wickedly. He straightens up from lying on the bed to standing position next to it, his face momentarily blank. Suddenly he makes very frantic, wild motions, with his hands, clawing at the air; these appear almost manic. He makes verbalizations, which have no meaning at all, to me, just noises. He stomps over to bed #3 in the corner and puts the crayon box down on that bed. He picks up the box and abruptly dumps the crayons out of the box, watching them as they fall. (5'25") As he looks at the crayons, he singsongs aimlessly, "Da, da, do."

The noise of the other children continues, as they do various non-things in the room. He turns slightly and looks toward Wanda and the baby, his eyes half closed. He looks quite wicked as he looks over toward Wanda, as if planning further trouble. Wanda picks the baby up. She holds him out in front of her in a standing position, with the baby's back toward her. The baby looks blankly around. Oliver Walker gets a crayon which Owen has missed from bed #3. He makes wild, vigorous motions as if to eat the crayon although he does not really. Owen watches momentarily.

Oliver sticks the crayon in his mouth and pulls it out quickly, several times smacking his lips between times. Owen turns his attention to the crayons on the bed. He picks up the box. He puts one or two of the crayons into the box. He is very careful yet appears awkward. This is a very small box of crayons that he is working with. His hand fits very comfortably around the box, but because the box is small, it is not easy to stuff the crayons into it. Some of the crayons are extra thick and some are standard size. He takes several steps toward Wanda and the baby, carrying the crayon box with him. Opal comes over and grabs the box of crayons away from him.

Owen says, "Oh, you can't have it," or words to that effect. It is a very definite protest as he grabs the box back from her. Opal hits him very vigorously and runs away from him, grinning broadly. Owen starts to move after her, very fast, grinning wickedly, as if ready to start trouble. Opal runs over the blanket, past the baby, past bed #1, in a circle. Owen runs behind. (6'40") Opal runs over toward bed #2. Owen follows fast. This puts both of them out of my sight, briefly, because they are between the closet and the bed. It is impossible for me to see without moving between the baby and the bed. To move seems to be a poor idea as I have a pretty good view of the rest of the room, and the kitchen, from where I stand near the door and my movement might disrupt the ongoing activity.

Oliver accidentally drops the red crayon, over near the chair. Owen, who has apparently been watching Oliver, immediately runs over to pick up the crayon. Oliver climbs upon bed #3, oblivious to the crayon. Owen picks up the crayon and stuffs it in the box very hastily giving all his attention for the moment to putting the crayon in. Owen wanders over to bed #3, where Oliver is, and continues to maneuver the crayons.

Wanda literally dumps the baby onto bed #1. In order to do this, as she is so small, she crawls upon the bed carrying him, then drops him. In the process of this she ends up on the wall side of the baby. With a great deal of effort she manages to pull herself and her skirt out from under the baby. She gets off the bed.

Owen in the meanwhile is continuing to stuff crayons in the box. Some of the crayons are broken. They fall down to the bottom of the box, so when he tries to put a whole crayon in it won't fit. Some of the crayons are fat crayons, and some are little ones and this too causes trouble. Owen accidentally drops a crayon on the floor. Just after this and before he can do anything about it, Opal comes over and gives him a very vigorous push. This appears both playful and angry. Owen straightens up and makes clawing motions in the air with his hands. He also makes some aggressive sounding sounds, which are almost animal-like. They are a series of grunts. (7'25") In a high-pitched tone he calls, "Aye, aye, eeee," apparently still in response to Opal's pushing him.

Opal wanders close to him now. I am not sure if she has forgotten what she has just done to him or not. Oliver comes up toward Owen wrapped up Indian-style in one of the blankets from the floor. He wanders past Owen. Owen leans over and stuffs the crayon box in his pocket. The same kinds of play with the crayons continued for about seven minutes more, slowed down and then stopped.

Suggestions for Study

1. What objects are in this home that would be considered school-type materials?
2. Take note of all the ways the children used the crayons. Contrast this to the ways crayons are generally used at school.
3. Compare this use of crayons with Connie Roper's use of the scissors in Excerpt 2.
4. What directions did the mother give about using the crayons?
5. What was she doing during this period of time?
6. List just what the mother said and did to the children in this excerpt.

Excerpt: 13 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 7 Observer: M. Schoggen

The observation is made at lunchtime in the Payne home. Mrs. Payne, her helper and friend Margie, Rene, 3, and Peter, 2, are present. Peter has a pair of scissors in his hand.

(11'40") Rene gets up from her stool in an easy way and walks over to the stove.

The mother explains thoughtfully to Peter, "I really don't want you to do that right now, okay? We'll do this later," she adds emphatically.

Rene drags a chair along with her in an automatic, easy way as she walks toward the stove then crawls up on the chair and looks at the water on the stove. "It's bubbling. It's bubbling," she says with excitement.

The mother takes the scissors away from Peter, taking them from his grasp as she speaks to him, in her easy-going yet brisk manner. Peter, immediately upon hearing Rene's comment, apparently forgets about the scissors. The mother takes the scissors and puts them away in a cupboard. Peter walks over to where Rene is standing on the chair. He lies on his stomach on the chair. He complains, "Anh, anh," as he begins to crawl up on the chair next to Rene. She apparently doesn't notice him for a few seconds.

As he climbs to a standing position, his mother says, "Petey, do you and Rene want to taste it to tell me if it is done?" She walks to the stove, takes a spoon and stirs around in the macaroni with it. She takes several macaroni pieces and puts them on the counter for Rene to try. Then she takes another spoonful and puts them over on Peter's side of the kitchen table for him to try. Peter climbs down from Rene's chair. Rene immediately turns her attention to the macaroni that her mother has put down there. She touches it gingerly, moving her hand away very quickly as the macaroni is very hot, then she touches it again. She picks up one small piece and puts it into her mouth very carefully, chews on it and looks very thoughtful.

"Taste it and see if it is done," the mother tells Peter companionably. Peter stands next to the table complaining loudly in a no-word squeal. "You want some cheese too? You want some cheese too!" says the mother indicating by her tone and manner that cheese is coming. (12'15") Rene continues to eat the macaroni taking the next one a little less gingerly apparently realizing that it is cooled off by now. She pops it in her mouth and chews. She looks over in Peter's direction as he makes the last bit of complaining noise. She watches with a very blank look on her face. The mother tells Peter again that the macaroni is hot and to be careful.

Suggestions for Study

1. List all the experiences Rene and Peter are having through their senses. What are they seeing, smelling, hearing, tasting, or touching?
2. How do the children learn about hot and cold?
3. How are Rene and Peter learning to become independent, to do things for themselves?

Excerpt: 14 Subject: Owen Edward Culster Observation: 9 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation was made in the Culster's home. It is afternoon. Wanda, 7, has just returned from school. The other children present are Opal, 5, Owen, 3, Oliver Walker, 2, and the baby, Earl. The mother is with the children.

Owen walks purposefully to the desk. He begins to manipulate the go-go boots that are on the desk. He picks them up by their tops and moves them back and forth in rhythmic fashion pushing the tops together and pushing them apart, a boot in each hand. He makes baby talk sounding noises, "Ga-ga-ga," as he does this. "Ba-ba," he says as he puts the boots down on the desk. Owen makes a lot of these baby talk sounds although he can and does occasionally speak with more clarity than Opal. He picks the go-go boots up and puts them down on the floor. He tries to put his foot with the shoe on into the boot while he stands. The boots have zippers down the sides. He begins to unzip the zippers grasping one zipper and pulling hard at it. "Hah, uh, haha," he singsongs, sounding very happy. (6'15")

The baby's crying increases in intensity. The mother comes walking through the hall, cigarette in hand. As she goes past Owen she says in a semi-amused and semi-serious tone, "Get off 'ma' boots. Come on!" she adds, sounding pleading and somewhat annoyed but not seriously so. Owen simply continues to work at the zipper, unconcerned, untouched by her comment. "Opal," she calls companionably, "put this on the table for me will ya....." Before she has really finished the sentence she says as if annoyed, "Oh, never mind! I'll do it myself!" she explains more to herself than to Opal. She turns to go back toward the kitchen. It is as if it is not worth bothering to try to get the child's help. The baby cries very loudly.

Owen meanwhile, continues to work at getting the boot unzipped and finally succeeds. Without change of expression and without hesitation he slips his foot in the boot. Opal comes out of the bedroom and Owen says to her, "I've got it on," sounding very satisfied. He has a big smile on his face. Opal comes closer, but does not respond to Owen, nor does he appear to expect response. She has a wad of doll's hair in her hands which she manipulates; she also has a pencil in her mouth, holding it crosswise in her teeth. He singsongs, "He-he, he-he," as if he is very proud of himself. He picks up the left boot, to put on his right foot. Very carefully, he unzips the zipper, working hard at it but having no difficulty. He tries to push his foot into the boot. As if talking to himself he says, "Get up there. Get up there!" He pushes hard and the foot goes in rather smoothly, if slowly. He says a few more singsongy words which I cannot understand. "Ge-own," (Get down) he says as if saying something with finality.

The mother goes in to be with the baby. I can hear her chattering to him in a loving way. Owen seems quite engrossed in putting the boots on. He sits, knees out, feet together, with zippers on top, within easy reach. He bends down to the zipper on the right foot and pulls on the zipper, working carefully to pull it up. He has a little difficulty causing his fingers to slip off the zipper tab. He looks up at me as if hoping that I would give him some help, but his expression indicates pretty clearly that he does not really expect to get any. He manages to pull the zipper up. "No boot!" he says matter-of-factly. "Ooooh-eh," he turns with the effort. As I looked at the watch he looked up at me. He watches interestedly, his hands suspended in motion as he pays all his attention to me. He grins at me in a kind of half-embarrassed, half-knowing way as if, perhaps, for the first time, accepting me. He looks at me steadfastly for a few seconds more and then returns his gaze to the zipper immediately beginning to manipulate it, pulling it up. He makes, "Oh, ah," sounds again several times in succession as if with effort; he has a fake quality as if the sound does not contribute to his accomplishing anything. (7'30")

He continues to work at the zipper first with his left hand and then with his right, shifting hands very frequently as if trying to maintain pressure on the zipper. He pulls the zipper all the way up. All during this time he keeps looking hard at the zipper. Very carefully he pulls his trousers out of his left boot and carefully arranges the cuff around the outside of the boot. Oliver Walker comes in from the kitchen, walking on one lady's high heel. He drags the shoe along the floor and it makes a strange sound. Owen looks up as Oliver approaches. He looks as if he is curious about the noise. He notices what Oliver is doing. Immediately he turns his attention back to the boot. He continues to arrange the trouser over the boot. He uses very delicate finger motions to do this. With both boots on, and looking satisfied, he stands and begins to walk around. He walks on into the bedroom. He appears to be walking carefully in the boots.

For about four minutes Owen plays around with his sister and a doll, then again turns his attention to the boots. (12'10")

Owen walks over to the couch. The mother is over on the kitchen side of the counter, picking up a few things. She wanders around, the baby astride her hip. He puts his feet up on the couch. He spreads his legs apart and sits staring at the boots momentarily. He turns his hands and

all of his attention to the zipper on the boot. He works at zipping the zipper down. He acts as if he must exert much effort, as if it will be hard work. Actually the zipper goes down rather smoothly and easily. He unzips it, all the way down. "Me-ow," he says with an air of having gotten something done. This sounds like baby talk. He sits for a few moments just looking, first at the go-go boots and then at me. Owen abruptly pulls off the go-go boot which is unzipped. His shoe comes off as well.

"Owen Edward?" questions the mother, as if she is going to ask a favor of him. She is standing at the sink working; the baby still on her hip. "Do you want to do something for me?" she asks sweetly. (13'00")

"What?" asks Owen Edward sounding a little suspicious. "What? Hah?" he asks again, still in the same tone, as she does not immediately respond.

"Get that broom and bring it to me," she explains as if continuing the earlier sentence. ".....or I'll get you a broom," she adds in a somewhat threatening, teasing tone.

"My shoe, my shoe," he complains, meaning that he does not have his shoe on.

"I'll shoe you if you don't do what I told you," says the mother, sounding just a little annoyed.

"My shoe," he repeats, "in here," he adds, as if explaining. He is referring to the fact that his shoe came off inside the boot. "In here," he repeats as he points to the boot, as if explaining to his mother. His mother pays no attention to him as her attention is on the sink.

"Bring it to me!" she orders, mildly firm. "Get Mama's broom and bring it to me," she repeats more sweetly, as if willing to plead a little.

He insists, "Eyup, eyup," meaning to zip up the boots, I think.

"Boot on, boot off," she says as if she has had enough of this, "get me the broom." The last is very firm as if she is not willing to take no for an answer.

"Okay," he says willingly, as if he were agreeing happily at first request. (13'36")

Suggestions for Study

1. Owen is playing with his mother's go-go boots. He is exploring and experimenting with them. List everything Mrs. Culster and Opal say to him.
2. From what Mrs. Culster said to Owen, how would you describe her attitude toward Owen's playing with her boots?

3. What attitudes did Owen show in this situation that in a school situation would be helpful to his learning?
4. Children learn best by actually doing activities. List all the things Owen does with the boots.
5. In order to get the most from a learning situation children need to hear and try words that are related to the situation they are experiencing. This did not happen to Owen with the go-go boots. List some things his mother could have said to him that would have made it a more useful learning time.
6. Glance through excerpt 19 and notice how Rene and the adults in the Payne household attach words to the experience Peter is having with the spoons.
7. Find an experience Peter is having with mathematics. He is learning addition, subtraction and counting in an everyday situation, spoons.

Excerpt: 15 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 7 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation was made at lunchtime in the Payne home. Rene, Peter, and Mrs. Payne are present. Mrs. Payne has brought a book from the library that Rene had requested. She is preparing lunch.

Rene says demandingly, "Let me put the package in. Let me put the package in." (0'00")

The mother suggests somewhat hastily, "First let me get that other package out. We'll open it and then get the package out," the mother continues explaining, agreeing with what Rene wants to do, but explaining how they will modify the plan. She suggests, "Now suppose we eat some carrots and read the book while we're waiting for the water to boil. Then you can open the package and dump it in," the mother explains. "After the water boils. We better let the water boil first," she explains further. These may not be her exact words but they are relatively close to what she actually says. She explains this several times in several different words. As she says this she goes to the refrigerator and gets some carrots.

Peter hastily goes over to the stove, pulls a chair over and crawls up on it in a flash. He sits on the counter right next to the stove where the water is boiling. Rene stands next to Peter. She tries to open the macaroni package with a knife. It is a package of Kraft Macaroni Dinner. The mother said to me at some point earlier, "If on all your observations we have noodles for lunch, that's right!" She points to Rene, "She likes 'em." She grimaces with humor and tolerance in her look.

"That's gonna get hot," the mother warns Peter in a pleasant way keeping a wary eye on Rene and Peter as she gets the carrots from the refrigerator. "Let's look at the story, okay?" she suggests questions to both children. With the bag of carrots and a carrot peeler in one hand she takes

hold of Peter around his waist and puts him down on to the floor.

Rene continues to work at the package as if she has not even heard her mother. She is completely intent. This is quite characteristic of her. When the mother puts Peter down on the floor, Peter heads for the book. Rene rushes over to the table, completely and abruptly leaving the macaroni package. She calls out crossly, "No! Don't get that story, Peter." This is her story, is the clear implication. As she approaches the table, she reaches her right hand to grab the book. She pulls it close to her in a possessive gesture, frowning vigorously. At the same time she pulls and jerks at a stool near the table. This is rather difficult because the leaf is down on that side. She pulls and tugs, and holding the book in one hand, she manages to use her left hand and elbow to raise the leaf and pull the stool out from under the table.

Peter rushes over to the stool at the same time on the other side of the table. He begins to climb on the table. He is heading for the book.

"Mama is sitting by me, Peter," Rene says. She repeats this again as is her custom; this is a matter-of-fact explanation but has a good deal of possessiveness about it. Her tone and her manner and her posture indicate that this is so. It is very hard to describe. She is quite certain of this. This is her book and therefore she gets the choice position near the mother and gets to hold the book. Peter looks quite pleased and happy. He does not seem at all bothered by the fact that he has not gotten the book. The mother works at peeling the carrots in a very quick and efficient manner. Rene gets up on the stool. Rene puts her thumb in her mouth and very gently wiggles her index finger around on the top of her lip. She casually but possessively puts her elbows on the book, thus protecting it. She looks very pensive for a few seconds. Peter looks up at the mobile which hangs from the light over the table. The mobile is made of paper cutouts of fruit and vegetables, string, and sticks.

Rene takes her thumb out of her mouth to say, "Do you like those apples? Do you like those apples?" to Peter in a friendly pleasant way. Peter climbs around on the table making some comments about getting the apple from the mobile. "Petey is up on the table. Petey's up on the table," tattles Rene in a loud voice, popping her thumb out of her mouth to do so.

Peter hastens to crawl off the table onto a chair. He does not appear to be afraid, but is just doing what he knows he should do.

"I'll get him in a minute," says the mother comfortably. "Hold on," she comforts Rene by her tone.

"He's down," says Rene. The mother continues to peel the carrots. Rene pops her thumb back in her mouth and wiggles her index finger around on her lip, very, very gently. She pops her thumb back out of her mouth, complaining, "I'm not going to have anything," in an almost whiney tone to herself.

The mother is cutting the carrots on a cutting board. She brings the cutting board and carrots over to the table. On the cutting board are

several carrot sticks. She carefully puts the board in front of Rene in such a way that Peter can reach it if he sits at Rene's left and Rene can reach it too.

Peter immediately lies on his stomach. He grabs for a carrot. I think at this point he is on the stove side of the table. He throws one toward Rene; it bounces off the table onto the floor. Peter picks up another carrot and throws it at Rene. (1'20")

"Uh uh," scolds Rene crossly, taking her thumb out of her mouth to say this. She frowns and looks cross all over as she says this.

Peter does not see this look, nor does he seem to hear this. He puts his hand on another carrot and again on another one, but picks up a third carrot.

"Don't get your germs on it," Rene says crossly. Peter touches several carrots as if her comment has given him further reason to do this. He is clearly teasing her; this time he has heard and understood. He touches all the carrots one right after another very quickly touching one, taking his hand away, and putting his hand on another carrot stick grinning broadly as he does this. Rene watches with annoyance written on her frowning brow. "Don't! Don't! Don't!" shouts Rene very crossly. She frowns vigorously. She puts her thumb back in her mouth and continues her deep frown. At the same time, however, she wiggles her index finger around her upper lip.

The mother comes whisking back to the table swiftly. I do not know where she had gone. She comes back and pulls the chair up to the table at the corner to Rene's right. The mother stoops to pick the carrot from the floor and throws it into the sink then takes another carrot that Peter has thrown toward Rene and begins to eat it.

The mother looks over at Peter and says in a reasonable, explaining tone, "You let her choose her own because she wants to choose her own." She leans very close toward Peter as she says this. She looks right into his eyes, nodding her head up and down in a vigorous way as she speaks. Rene, still frowning, looks at her mother intently. She looks at Peter still frowning. He should know from this look that she is disapproving. She looks back at her mother as her mother finishes speaking. Her brow clears slightly. She looks very self-satisfied and self-righteous as if vindicated.

".....and we'll read the story," the mother continues as though she is continuing her sentence. She turns to Rene as she says this in a pleasant warm way, looking directly at Rene. Rene does not look at her mother. She may not notice her mother's look. The mother pushes the cutting board slightly closer to Rene. She raises her eyebrows as she does this as if to say, "Don't you want one of these," although she says nothing.

"I don't want them. I don't want them," says Rene crossly, frowning again. Her thumb is still in her mouth as she says this. Suddenly she says with great interest, in a marked contrast to her pouting and cross behavior of just a second before, "Which one is Sal?" She seems quite curious.

This refers to the cover of One Morning In Maine. "I thought the baby was," Rene continues by way of explanation.

"Well," says the mother, "I think the baby is just a baby, but this one is Sal. Remember in Blueberries For Sal?" the mother queries to help Rene understand. This is not a question which requires an answer, it is really a reminder to Rene which is to help straighten out the situation for her. Rene puts one foot onto the seat of the stool, sitting on her foot in the process; she seems content.

"Baby, baby, bobby, baby, baby," shouts Peter gaily, looking over at his mother. He looks all mischief today for some reason. (2'30")

The mother teases gaily to Peter, "You're not a baby, you're a kid, aren't ya? Are you a kid?" she asks sweetly, tilting her head to look at him. Peter grins at her. The mother smiles at him in a loving way. Rene sits pensively sucking her thumb waiting for the story to begin. Peter gets down to come over to the mother. The mother looks at him and says, "Baby, baby," an echo of his own statement. He grins. She hugs him and holds him as he leans next to her. The mother turns over several pages of the book until she gets to the beginning of the story. Rene leans on her own arm, still sucking her thumb. She looks pensive but at the same time alert to her mother.

The mother begins to read the story at a very rapid clip. I am not able to hear all her words as she reads it quite softly yet with feeling. At one point in the story Sal says, "Look! Look!"

Rene looks and blinks her eyes and echoes in her mother's tone, "Look!"

Her mother looks over at her and blinks her own eyes in response. She turns to the book and begins to read again.

Rene looks closely at the page as the mother reads. The mother reads very quickly but with many expression changes. Rene continues to suck her thumb as she looks interestedly at the pictures. She seems to be absorbing the story. The mother leans harder on her own left arm as she continues to read very vigorously. Rene continues to suck her thumb and leans against her mother's arm. The mother reads some more turning the page. (3'00")

The mother looks at one of the pictures and says with warmth and interest, "Look. That's how you look when you get up in the morning." Rene looks at it closely also with interest bending down to do so. "She does. She really does," the mother comments warmly looking at Rene with a warm sweet smile. Rene looks closely at this picture to see the resemblance between herself and the little girl in the picture. The pictures in this book are very realistic. The picture of the little girl getting up in the morning is the picture of a very disheveled not quite awake little girl, a delightful portrayal.

Suggestions for Study

1. Make two columns. On one side list everything Mrs. Payne says to her children. On the other side refer back to excerpt 11 and list all the things Mrs. Rubens says to her children.
2. List the things that Mrs. Payne lets Rene and Peter do for themselves or promises that they can do it.
Look back to excerpt 11. Find out how Mrs. Rubens was reacting to what Phil, Zane, and Ginger were doing for themselves.
3. What school type activity is happening at the Payne's?
4. How does Mrs. Payne make the story reading time enjoyable for the children?
5. How do you suppose Rene will feel about listening to stories and learning to read for herself when she goes to school?
6. Refer back to excerpt 8. What did Mr. Culster do to interest Owen in the magazine he was reading? What could he have done?

Comments

Children are learning at home every day. In the preceding excerpts some of the children are learning things that help them develop skills, think and talk more effectively, and have confidence in themselves and what they can do.

When children's basic needs such as food, warmth, and love, are met, they have a natural curiosity about their world (White, 1959). They want to see, hear, taste, smell, touch things. In excerpt 13, Mrs. Payne encourages her children to try out sensory experiences. She lets Rene climb up near the stove and look at the macaroni bubbling in the water. She gives Peter and Rene some macaroni to taste to see if it is done. They are learning about hot and warm. They are learning about hard and soft from first hand experience. An important part of this learning experience is what the mother says to the children about what they are doing. Learning is more complete when both first hand experience and talk go hand in hand (Fowler, 1965). In excerpt 14, Owen is curious about his mother's boots and plays with them a long time. However no one talks to him about his experience to help him understand size differences or labels for parts of the boots or how strong he is to pull on those boots. This kind of talk would lay a foundation for school learning.

In excerpt 9, Mrs. Payne is interested in Rene's questions and has patience in helping her to think through and understand. In excerpt 10, Mrs. Roper is teaching Connie by her example and conversation that it is fun to get a letter. Learning to write in school will probably appeal to Connie. Zane starts a conversation with his mother about the tie on the

rabbit, but his mother does not pay attention to what he has said (excerpt 11). These different kinds of experience probably make a big difference to the attitude the child will have toward school and teachers.

In school the teacher holds the key to the child's learning (Gray, 1966). Teachers expect a child to listen, follow directions and ask questions. If a child comes to school expecting that it will be pleasurable to listen to the teacher and that adults can tell him interesting things, he will be off to a running start.

Chapter III

Mothers' Influence on Children's Language Development

A long time ago a king tried an experiment to find out what the really true language of the world was. To determine this he isolated some children, forbidding anyone to talk with them. He waited to see which language the children would bring out from within themselves. Not only did they not speak any language, they did not live for long. Obviously, children can only learn the language that is used around them and with them. The responsibility of teaching a child language rests in the hands of the adults in his home, most especially his mother or mother substitute.

Language development can be considered a part of the curriculum that a child receives at home. Language is used by people for talking to one another and talking to oneself, or thinking.

Children come to school expressing themselves in different ways. The language they use at home fits with family and neighborhood situations. This may be quite different from the "school" language. The home language may be a language from another country or a dialect. But the home language may not be useful in school and in the world at large. For people to talk to one another they have to use language they both can understand.

The foundation or beginning steps in this process occur in the child's earliest years. For a parent to encourage a child's language development is more crucial than holding out his hand to assist the toddler's first faltering steps. The parent leads the child step by step in language. The parent begins by just talking to the child. The child listens and begins to try out sounds, then parts of words such as "dada." He is beginning to learn vocabulary.

Vocabulary building is a lifelong process of learning not only many words but many meanings for the same words.

The parent is the first teacher. A mother starts the child off by labeling. Labeling is the process of associating a word with an object or an idea. For example, a child will learn to say "ball" for a familiar round object that rolls and bounces. Descriptive words add meaning, "a red ball." Position words are harder to learn. "Is the ball on the table or under the table?" The child understands even more when he gets the idea of "not." "The ball is not on the table," or "The ball ain't on the table."

A parent also helps by talking about experiences while they are happening, recalling events, and talking about plans. The adult can help by listening carefully to what a child says and encouraging conversation and questions from the child. The adult helps the child with speaking distinctly by speaking clearly himself. A child learns to put sentences together in the same way that he hears them.

Sentence structure is another step in learning language. This starts out simply. One word is used to express a whole thought. "Mama" may mean "Mama, come here," "Mama is going out," etc. This progresses to two word

sentences such as "Mama go." Children need to hear the words separately in order to understand that a sentence is made up of meaningful units that can be pulled apart and reassembled in different ways. If a child hears "Mama gome" (Mama goes home) he cannot use the words in another situation, "Mama goes out," "Mama goes store." A child needs help in progressing from single sentences to complex sentences. For example, "Eat the cookie" to "When you eat the cookie, you may get down."

The child will also grow in language development by acting out his experiences in play. When he plays out a role or an idea he experiences a step closer to symbolization - something standing in place of the real thing. Playing "dog" on the floor is a step toward the experience of "dog" which he will be expected to learn at school. Play is learning for a young child.

In the following excerpts there will be examples of varying experiences related to a child's speech and language development.

Excerpt: 16 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 8 Observer: Ellen Brown

This observation was at the Paynes at lunchtime. Rene, 3, Peter, 2, and Margie, the mother's helper, are present.

Margie looks at Peter and says fondly with a smile, "You like meat, don't you?" This refers to the fact that Rene had insisted before I started observing that she have no meat with her macaroni. Peter does not respond.

Rene immediately answers, "I don't like meat." Then she adds as if there is a kind of meat she likes, "But I do like turkey."

Margie says frowning, "You like turkey?" She seems somewhat incredulous to find out that Rene really likes turkey. Rene does not respond immediately. She picks up the doll on the table and moves it around as if thinking about how much she likes turkey. Margie repeats as if she really wants to know, "You like turkey?" But before giving Rene a chance to answer, Margie says positively, "I like chicken."

Rene says decidedly, "I like chicken too. I like things with skin." Margie does not reply. Rene scoops up a big spoonful of macaroni. She carefully raises the spoon to her mouth but as it gets there she tilts it slightly so that some of the macaroni shells fall into her lap. She hesitates as if uncertain about what she is going to do about this. Then she puts the rest of the spoonful of macaroni back into her mouth. She adjusts her position a little bit on the chair, which seems to indicate that she has decided to ignore the spilled macaroni. She takes some more macaroni in the spoon. She holds her spoon out toward Margie and says conversationally, "Sometimes these get stuck together."

Margie replies, "Some aren't stuck together."

Rene says agreeably, "Some are. Some aren't." She puts the macaroni from the spoon into her mouth. She shrugs her shoulders as she says this and then eats.

Margie says, "If you put them in the pot and you don't stir them, they'll all stick together." Rene takes another spoonful of noodles. She chews as if thinking about what Margie has just said.

Rene persists, saying conversationally, "Some of mine are stuck together." Margie only nods. She seems somewhat tired of this topic. Rene scoops up two shells of macaroni into her spoon very carefully. She puts them in her mouth and chews them up thoughtfully. Abruptly she puts her spoon down and looks at Margie. She says almost accusingly, "Did you stir these?"

Margie nods, but adds, "They do that at the grocery store sometimes."

Rene counters with, "But do you know what?" Then she stops. She almost laughs as she finishes, "Mama didn't stir these last night, I bet." Her voice gets quite loud as she says "Mama" then gets soft as she finishes the sentence.

Margie chuckles to herself as she says assuredly, "Yes she did." Margie adds, "Sometimes they get stuck anyway," as if defending Mrs. Payne and the noodles.

Rene says very solemnly and very seriously as if she is really sure of this, "But ours don't." She looks at Margie as if she expects an answer. Margie just nods affirmatively.

Suggestions for Study

1. List all the objects that are labeled by someone in this excerpt. Include those that are in the room and also those that are being recalled by memory.
2. Find the descriptive or explaining words that are used along with the objects that are labeled.
3. What attitudes do you suppose Rene is developing about having conversations with adults?
4. In what ways will these kinds of experiences help Rene when she goes to school?
5. Look at excerpt 24. Notice how the mother cuts off conversation rather than encourage it.

Excerpt: 17 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 2 Observer: M. Schoggen

It is lunchtime at the Payne household. Rene, 3, Peter, 2, and their mother are present at this observation.

The mother asks warmly of Rene, "What did you do today?" sounding as if she really wants to know. She pours the glass about two-thirds full of milk still holding onto the mug as she talks. "What did you do today?" repeats the mother in a conversational, questioning way.

"I didn't do anything," states Rene flatly but she has a teasing look on her face; she grins but appears to be trying to hold it back by tightening her mouth. Rene giggles broadly, openly teasing now. "I did play," she says softly to herself. "Dum, dum, dum," she says as she fingers the mug. "I did play. I did play. I did play," she singsongs; smiling broadly and shaking her head back and forth negating her former statement. "I didn't play," she states firmly but giggles. "I did play!" she corrects, laughing aloud.

The mother says going along with Rene's tease, "What d'd you do? You sat in the corner all morning!" the mother states teasingly looking over at Rene and grinning as she places some bowls somewhat haphazardly around the table.

Rene grins and nods her head as if that is just exactly what she did. She looks down at her cup in a thoughtful way. Suddenly giggling very, very vigorously. She says through her giggles, "No, I really did play." Her tone is one which suggests she has been silly. (9'20")

Suggestions for Study

1. What was the purpose of the question Mrs. Payne asked Rene?
2. Rene seems to be having fun "playing" with an idea. Find how she does this.
3. How does Mrs. Payne encourage Rene's use of humor?
4. How can you tell from this excerpt that Rene really can tell what is make-believe and what is real?

Excerpt: 18 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 2 Observer: M. Schoggen

It is lunchtime at the Paynes. Rene, Peter, and their mother are present.

(3'00") Rene wraps her legs around the legs of the chair curling her feet behind them. Her knee socks have slipped down around her ankles. She rests her elbows on the table and looks very pensive for a moment then she begins to wiggle her body back and forth rocking the stool upon which she sits, first on one pair of legs and then on the other. She pushes the chair back on its back legs. In the same movement she slips and slides off the chair to a standing position and says plaintively, "Mama, I want the noodle soup."

"Let's see," says the mother warmly in response to this; this is almost an invitation to go and look. Rene puts her thumb in her mouth and sucks on it in an idle way. The mother is busy with folding up the bread package and putting other food away. She begins to walk out toward the pantry. Rene follows behind her in a matter-of-fact purposeful way. Her mother stops at the pantry door. Peter follows along behind arriving slightly behind me. The mother steps into the walk-in pantry and begins to look at the things on the shelf, making several sounds to herself. This is quite characteristic of Mrs. Payne. She continually makes "Mmm and ahh" sounds to herself. She does this in a way that suggests that she is looking, trying to find what Rene wants. "Mmm," says the mother as if thinking carefully, "I don't know." It is as if she is not finding what she is seeking. "How about SpaghettiOs?" asks the mother invitingly as she holds up two cans of SpaghettiOs. SpaghettiOs are canned round spaghetti pieces in tomato sauce.

"No," says Rene quite certainly but pleasantly.

"No?" says the mother as if she is surprised at this but yet accepting Rene's decision. "I don't have any noodle soup," says the mother sounding as if she is very sorry that she does not have the noodle soup. "I have asparagus soup and tomato soup and ...," she says leaving the "and" up in the air. "And SpaghettiOs!" she finishes comfortably. "What'll ya have?" she asks Rene pleasantly, looking down at her directly.

Rene looks up at her mother. Her facial expression indicates she is thinking very hard. "Oh-oh, go-go," intones Peter gaily.

The mother continues to look directly at Rene saying warmly, "You may decide." Rene just stands there looking up at the shelves and up at her mother. She looks as if she is thinking very hard about this. Rene takes a couple of steps forward so that she is right next to her mother in the pantry.

She looks up and says, "I believe I want....I want, uh, uh....I believe I want....," she says slowly, as if she is thinking very hard about this decision.

"How about this?" asks the mother almost excitedly as she picks up a large can of spaghetti and meatballs. She is offering a new alternative. "How about that?" she says, "spaghetti and meatballs!" She sounds very inviting. She also sounds as if Rene will view this possibility with great pleasure.

"I want....," says Rene uncertainly. She adds, "I want SpaghettiOs," but she does not sound very enthusiastic about it. She sounds as if she has made her choice and is certain of her choice, yet she is not very pleased with it.

"Gettios, gettios," sings Peter happily.

"SpaghettiOs," Rene says with finality sounding much more pleased now, turning and skipping back toward the kitchen as she says this. She rubs her hand absently across her face. She brushes down at her dress as she moves.

Both of these are very feminine gestures. She singsongs happily, "Spaghettios, Spaghettios," as she skips into the kitchen. (4'25")

Suggestions for Study

1. List the objects that are labeled in this excerpt.
2. Notice what Peter says. Can you see how he is imitating his mother and Rene is helping him to learn words?
3. In this excerpt how is Mrs. Payne teaching Rene to be independent?
4. Hearing sounds that are alike help children to learn to read. In this excerpt find the places where Peter is rhyming words.

Excerpt: 19 Subject: Rene Payne Observation: 2 Observer: M. Schoggen

Setting same as excerpt 18. Margie is also present at this time.

(9'35") Margie has gone to the drawer and has gotten some spoons and is returning to the table with them. Margie says warmly to Rene, "I got you some spoons." Rene pays no attention to this but gets several spoons from the drawer; she may not have heard Margie. She immediately turns and looks over at the mother as if she is just checking.

She walks over to where Peter is sitting and puts two spoons next to Peter's bowl. "I gave Petey two of them," she announces with pride and as if she has just been most generous.

Margie laughs, saying pleasantly in explanation, "I've already given him a spoon and I've given you one, too." Rene goes on as if she has not heard Margie. She skips happily over to her own place very pleased with herself to judge from her satisfied facial expression and her sprightly skipping. "You already got one," explains Margie again.

Rene does not even look at Margie; here, at least, I feel that she is ignoring Margie in order to do what she wants to do. Rene skips back to her place and slides easily onto her stool wrapping one leg around the leg of the stool. She stirs eagerly in her Spaghettios.

Peter says gaily, "I got three spoons." He takes two of them in his hand and stirs vigorously in his bowl. He does have three spoons.

Rene laughs gaily at this. Rene takes a spoonful of Spaghettios and puts them in her mouth. The mother and Margie also laugh in a very amused way at Peter's pleasure with the three spoons.

"How about one?" suggests Margie sweetly as she takes two of the spoons out of Peter's bowl.

Peter makes complaining noises at this. Rene looks interestedly from face to face as this discussion occurs very quickly.

"You got one spoon to eat with," explains Margie sweetly.

Peter continues to complain. Margie laughs as does the mother. While this is going on, Rene also takes a big spoonful of SpaghettiOs and shovels it into her mouth.

"Two spoons," says Rene somewhat firmly, her mouth still full of food. She is announcing this generally. She takes another bite of SpaghettiOs from the spoon in a serious, business-like way then puts her spoon down into the bowl. She picks up the mug of milk and takes a big drink. Even while she is putting the mug down from taking the drink, she moves her body to slide off the stool. "I'll get you another spoon, Petey," she says consolingly indicating by her tone that if no one else will come to his rescue, she will. She almost pouts for him. "Okay?" Rene says. "Okay, Petey? 'Cause Petey wants two," she says still almost pouting. She is talking to the adults, not to Peter.

No one responds, but no one objects either. She goes to the counter where the silverware drawer is. The mother is there getting coffee. She moves automatically, allowing Rene in front of her.

"I'll give you three more," says Rene firmly to Peter. Her firmness is toward the adults however. "'Cause he wants these," she says firmly again to the adults. She gets three more spoons which she carries the few steps to Peter's place and puts them into his bowl. Peter looks very pleased as he looks at the three spoons all sticking out of his bowl.

The mother is getting cheese sandwiches from the oven. She comes back to the table. She says comfortably, "Excuse my fingers." At some point while Rene was getting the spoons, the mother had distributed wooden plates in order to put the cheese sandwiches on them. The mother puts a cheese sandwich on a wooden plate by Rene. Rene slides onto her stool and wiggles herself around as if getting comfortable.

(11'12") "Two, two," says Peter talking about his spoons. Margie and the mother laugh happily at this. Rene takes several large spoonfuls of SpaghettiOs in her mouth in a business-like manner. Her eyes are on her mother's progress around the table with the sandwiches.

She says, "Ah, oh, ah," in a musing way to herself. The mother puts a sandwich on Peter's plate. A crust is loose from the bread.

Peter says, "Bwoke, bwoke." He means broke because the crust is off. He holds up the crust that has come off of his bread.

"I'm sorry about that," says the mother sounding truly sorry but not as if it is a serious matter.

Rene takes a big drink of milk then says in a comforting tone, "That doesn't matter, Petey," her tone clearly indicating that she understands

his concern about his broken piece of bread. "It's just something to eat," continues Rene explaining why it does not matter if it is broken. This sounds as if it is something someone has explained to her at one time; i.e., that something which is to be eaten is not hurt by not being in one piece.

"Bwoke, bwoke," repeats Peter sadly. The mother shakes her head as if she cannot understand what he is saying.

"It doesn't care, Peter. It doesn't care," says Rene. She explains and comforts at the same time trying to make him feel pleased and happy.

Peter continues to say, "Bwoke," over and over again. Rene explains to Peter again, "It doesn't matter, Peter. It doesn't matter." Her mouth appears loose and pouty but it is as if she is pursing her lips sympathetically at the same time as she speaks. Rene digs up some melted cheese from her sandwich with her fingers, wiggling her fingers around so that the cheese winds and lumps around her finger. She licks it off very lustily appearing to give it her entire attention for the moment.

Peter continues to say rather sadly, "Bwoke, bwoke," shaking his head.

The mother turns to Peter and looks right at him; she appears to recognize that Peter is really bothered. She says seriously and sympathetically, "Petey, I'm sorry. I'm trying so hard to understand you."

"Bwoke, bwoke," repeats Peter sadly.

Rene looks at her mother with some annoyance in her facial expression. She says very firmly and a bit impatiently, "He said, 'bwoke'." Her broke comes out b-w-o-k-e also.

Peter says happily with finality, "Bwoke!" as if now somebody understands him. He seems very pleased, completely and suddenly so. The mother laughs. So does Margie. (12'30")

Suggestions for Study

1. List all the instances where someone is describing or explaining something that is happening.
2. When children begin to learn to talk they say one word that means a whole sentence. Find examples of Peter doing this.
3. What does Mrs. Payne say to Peter when she does not understand his "one word" communication?
4. How does Rene help with the communication problem between Petey and his mother?
5. Do you suppose all this attention to Peter's attempt at talking has contributed to his learning. Find a whole sentence that Peter says.

Excerpt: 20 Subject: Connie Roper Observation: 7 Observer: E. Brown

It is after lunch at the Ropers. All nine children were present. In this excerpt Connie gets involved in play with the baby ducks, Marie, a teenager, and Phil, 4. The mother is also present for part of the excerpt.

(14'00") Connie runs partway across the room. She peers eagerly down into a large cardboard carton which is on the playroom floor. In this carton are kept the Roper's two small ducks, whose names are Batman and Robin. Connie looks in eagerly as if absorbing carefully what she sees and really enjoying her look at the two ducks. Then almost as if she cannot contain her joy she comes running upstairs eagerly, almost bursting to tell someone. She runs through the playroom to the glass doors. Someone has just gone out and is about to shut the door. Connie grabs onto the door as it closes and pushes it open again forcefully. Her enthusiasm and energy seem at a real peak and she is almost bursting with excitement. As I go through the kitchen to follow Connie outside some of the older children are still sitting at the kitchen table. They laugh and begin to comment on what I am doing. They seem to thoroughly enjoy the fact that I follow Connie around, and are good about ignoring me when Connie is with them, but otherwise they do not restrain their amusement at my activities.

Almost as if she cannot stand it any longer, Connie says out loud very enthusiastically to all the children on the deck, "I went to see a duck! I went to see a duck!" She is so excited by this that she can barely get the words out. She repeats standing very close to Phil, "Phillie, I went to see a duck! I went to see a duck!" She is very excited and pleased about what she has done. Her face is lit up and glows with excitement. There is no response from Phil, who is talking with another child. Connie walks in between the large and small picnic tables and puts a hand on each bench and pushes herself up in the air. She says even more fervently, "I went to see a duck, Phillie. I went to see a duck!" Again Phil does not respond. It is as if he does not hear her. Although Connie is very excited, her loudest, most enthusiastic words are not very loud compared to the general noise level and the voices of the older children. Connie puts one foot upon the smaller picnic table bench. Her motions seem as if just an energy outlet. She is obviously so excited about having seen the ducks that she can hardly contain her enthusiasm. Randy comes out from inside the house.

Connie all of a sudden gets down from the picnic bench. She runs around the smaller table and over toward the glass doors and pushes them open using all her energy, as it takes this much to get the doors open for her. She enters the house, automatically pushing the door shut. I wait briefly and then follow her into the house.

(15'00") Connie runs into the kitchen over to the mother who is now sitting at the kitchen table. She says excitedly as she stands right next to the mother, "Mama, Mama!" Her mother does not reply immediately. She is talking to Marie and is waiting till she is through. I am sure she hears Connie. Connie grabs onto her mother's arm and pulls eagerly as she looks earnestly up into her mother's face. She says very impatiently and excitedly, "Mama, Mama!"

Finally the mother turns toward her, smiles and says sweetly, "What!"

Connie says with great excitement in her voice, "Mama, I went to see the duck!"

Her mother smiles fondly at her and says gently, "Did you see Batman and Robin?" Then she adds in a very informative way, "They are going to take Batman and Robin out into the grass now, Con. That will be good for them to be out in the grass," she adds sweetly.

Marie adds eagerly, "That's right, Con, you want to help 'em?" Connie nods her head excitedly. Her eyes are wide open and show her real interest in the ducks and her excitement about anything connected with them. Marie repeats helpfully, "You wanna help?" Connie continues to nod excitedly. Marie says, "Go tell Randy then. He's going to do it now."

Suggestions for Study

1. Language is a way that a person can share his experience with another. Find the places in the excerpt where Connie is telling about her experience with the ducks.
2. In what way did Connie's mother enrich her experience with language by taking the idea further?
3. How did Marie encourage Connie to have more first hand experience with the ducks?

Excerpt: 21 Subject: Connie Roper Observation: 7 Observer: E. Brown

Setting same as excerpt 20.

(32'20") As if by some agreement both Trudy and Connie head over toward the wagon. Connie leans in and busily brushes some of the sand which is in the bottom of the wagon over to one side as if making room for the duck. Trudy brings the duck she is holding over and puts it in the wagon. Connie calls out excitedly, "There is one duck in the" She stops her sentence however, and turns back to watch Trudy as if she does not want to finish her sentence because no one is paying much attention. Trudy chases the other duck in the yard.

Connie looks at the wagon again. She says in a voice as if she can hardly believe it, "There is a duck in the wagon." She laughs to herself as if absolutely delighted at seeing this. Finally Trudy catches the duck she is chasing. She puts it in the wagon with the first one. Connie says excitedly, "Look!" She still has the same look of sheer delight on her face and laughs joyfully as if she is very tickled at seeing both ducks in the wagon. She looks excitedly up at Marie. Marie and Trudy look down at her in a very fond way. Connie approaches the wagon and pats at one of the ducks. However, instead of touching the duck she draws her hand away

quickly. Apparently she enjoys watching them but is not familiar enough with the ducks to bring herself to touch one yet though she clearly wants to. She runs very excitedly over to the boys who are still working on the plank on the ground. She says in a very excited voice, "Look! Two ducks in the wagon!" The boys look up briefly but do not reply. Connie still seems delighted at seeing the ducks. She is not bothered by the lack of response of the boys.

Abruptly she turns and starts toward the house. She says in a very directive voice, "Leave the ducks in there, Trudy." (33'00") She adds looking over her shoulder briefly, "Don't let 'em jump out." Her voice is very soft and I doubt that Trudy hears her. Connie goes up the steps toward the house. As she walks up the steps she says mostly to herself, "We put a duck in the wagon! We put a duck in the wagon!" As she gets to the top of the stairs she continues to say this over and over again as if she cannot believe it.

Marie says in a kind way to Connie, "Did you really? Did you help them?"

Connie shakes her head very positively. "No," she says very firmly. Connie walks over to the glass doors as if about to enter the house. Then she turns and walks back to the top of the stairs looking into the yard and says in a voice which indicates that she still is having trouble believing it, "A duck in a wagon!" She calls again in a loud directive voice, "Don't let them out." None of the children below are paying any attention to Connie but this does not seem to make much difference to her. It is as if she is running through the events and thinking about what should be done with the ducks. As she thinks of something new she has to say it out loud. (33'50")

Suggestions for Study

1. As Connie sees the ducks in the wagon she talks and thinks out loud. Pick out the sentences which show this.
2. Find the places where Connie is counting.
3. It is difficult for young children to learn words which indicate position, such as, in, out, over, under. Children understand better if they use these words in everyday experiences. Find all the sentences that Connie uses that contain position words.

Excerpt: 22 Subject: Owen Ed. Culster Observation: 2 Observer: B. McCandless

It is suppertime at the Culsters. All the members of the family are present. The mother is preparing dinner for the children to eat. Apparently she and her husband were planning to eat later.

(0'00") Owen Edward grabs one of the stools near the counter. He pulls it over close to his mother, by the stove. His movements are rather frantic. He has a very excited look on his face as he starts to climb up on the stool.

His mother looks at him sternly and says irritably, "You get down from there. You know better than that."

Owen Edward climbs reluctantly off the stool. He looks a bit sheepish looking up at me rather casually. He starts to climb back up on the stool but hesitates with a very cautious look on his face. He appears to be calculating whether he can get up on the stool without his mother reprimanding him. He looks quite pensive apparently deciding that it is too risky. Opal is wandering around the room with a piece of icicle from the Christmas tree. Owen Edward looks absently over toward her. Owen Edward looks over at me for no apparent reason, with big blank eyes. It is as if he were checking out the situation.

Mrs. Culster looks sharply at Owen Edward. She says sharply, "Sit up at the table."

He drags a stool absently over toward the counter. (1'00") He climbs up on the stool without much interest and begins to randomly fiddle with a spoon beside his plate. His mother is dishing up dinner. He suddenly looks as if he is quite anxious to be served. Mrs. Culster serves a plate, but she does not put it in Owen's place. Owen seems to be looking forward to a good dinner. He looks over at me and giggles. He places his arms on the table and rests his head on top of his arms. He has a pleasant, teasing look on his face. He absently picks his nose. He looks anxiously over at his mother who is still serving dinner. Mrs. Culster comes over toward him with a plate. His eyes open wide. He seems quite impatient. He straightens up on the stool, sitting astride the stool as if he were in a saddle. He looks up at me blankly, mumbling something absently to himself. (2'00") He turns around on the stool. He looks casually over toward Yvette and Opal, who are sitting in the white armchair next to the Christmas tree. He yawns. He dangles his heels over the edge of the stool.

Wanda comes into the room. She walks over toward Owen. Owen points at a cut on her elbow and says rather uninterestedly, "What's that?" Wanda just smiles at him. He says a little more demandingly, "What's that, what's that, what's that?" Wanda still does not answer, deliberately. Owen Edward begins to smile. He has a very playful, teasing look on his face. He says very singsongily, "What, what, what, what?" It sounds like a quack. It is almost as if it were a game. (3'00") He pulls himself over so that he is closer to Wanda. He extends his right foot, gingerly. He kicks Wanda gently, teasingly. Opal is playing with the icicles on the Christmas tree. Owen notices this, looks toward his mother and says, "Ma-ma," very knowingly. He tattles on Opal, "Opal's playing with the Christmas tree." He seems quite satisfied with himself for having caught Opal in the act.

Mrs. Culster is still dishing up the food and shows no awareness of Owen's comment.

Wanda takes a few steps toward Owen, takes some gum out of her mouth, and hands it to Owen and says impatiently, "Take it." Owen Edward looks at her questioningly. She repeats insistently, "Take it."

He takes the gum but he is not very interested in it. He holds it in his hand examining it in a rather uninterested manner. He looks as if he becomes more involved. He has a vaguely self-important air. He takes the piece of gum from his own mouth and extends his hand toward Opal. He says very demandingly, "Take it, take it." She does. She immediately puts it in her mouth.

Owen Edward puts the piece of gum that Wanda has given him in his mouth. His expression changes suddenly and he looks quite dismayed. (4'00") He says very whinily, "Ma-ma." Opal immediately gives him back his gum. It was as if his whine meant she should give it back. With an intent look on his face he gives Wanda back her piece of gum and says very gently, "This belongs to you." Wanda, in turn, matter-of-factly, gives it to Opal. He puts his own piece of gum back in his mouth. He plays with the gum in his mouth sticking it between his two lips. He opens his mouth. He looks over toward his mother, who is still dishing up food. He says very excitedly, "Look at my gum, look at my gum."

The mother does not respond.

Owen dangles his right foot absently over the edge of the stool. He says to himself in a rather singsongy way, "I got my gum back, I got my gum back."

Wanda comes over to him and puts her arms confidentially on his shoulders. She says very affably, "When I give my gum to you, you don't have to give yours away."

Owen looks at her rather blankly. (5'00") Then he realizes that Opal, who has not put her gum in her mouth yet, has a bigger piece. He seems quite upset about that. He screws up his face and says very unhappily, "Opal got a bigger one. Opal got a bigger one!" It sounds almost as if he is chanting. It seems quite characteristic of him to repeat everything he says. Owen Edward then turns around facing the table. His mother puts a plate before him. He grins.

Mrs. Culster says very sternly, "Take that piece of gum out of your mouth."

He does so very reluctantly, dropping it absently on the table top. Mrs. Culster gives him a disgusted look. She picks up the piece of gum. She takes it into the pantry. It looks as if she puts it in the refrigerator. (6'00") Owen reaches for his glass of Kool-Aid, looking up at his mother cautiously. It is as if he were checking up to see if he could get away with this. He pulls his hand back and puts it up to his mouth. He giggles. He extends his hand hesitantly again, to pick up the glass. He looks at his mother questioningly as he does this. He picks up the glass, but he puts it back on the table. He seems very impatient fidgeting on the stool. He appears to be waiting for people to sit down. With his left hand he reaches for the chicken.

He picks it up and starts to take a bite.

Mrs. Culster glares at him.

He ignores her glance. He seems to know that this is taboo, but he defiantly goes ahead. By this time Yvette, Opal, and Wanda have sat down at the table.

Mrs. Culster is standing over by the entrance to the pantry. She cautions meaningfully, "Now remember to say your prayers."

Yvette begins to say the prayer. Owen Edward ignores this. He eyes the piece of chicken in his hand.

Mrs. Culster looks at him irritably and says, "Bow your head, Owen." He just looks at her blankly. The prayers finish. He takes a quick bite of chicken.

Mrs. Culster matter-of-factly asks if he wants a piece of bread.

He nods his head and says, "Yeah!" enthusiastically. The mother hands him a slice of bread. He takes the piece of bread, greedily, folds it in half and takes a big bite out of it. He is being quite rough. He looks around at the others with a very questioning look on his face. It appears to me that he is not quite sure whether he should be eating yet.

Suggestions for Study

1. Compare the quality of the conversation between the mother and Owen in this excerpt with the conversation in excerpt 19.
2. List everything the mother says to Owen in this excerpt and everything the mother says to Rene in excerpt 15.
3. Find all the objects labeled by Mrs. Culster in excerpt 22 with the objects labeled by Mrs. Payne in excerpt 15.
4. Find the sentences that each mother uses to give reasons to the child or explains something in each of these same two excerpts.

Excerpt: 23 Subject: Owen Ed. Culster Observation: 2 Observer: B. McCandless

Setting is the same as excerpt 22.

(11'00") Mrs. Culster walks over toward the Christmas tree and plugs in the lights. Mrs. Culster is quite excited about this. She looks anxiously over toward the children. I think she is worried that they will not react. Owen Edward grins. All the children act very excited.

Owen Edward points to a light. He asks excitedly, "What's that Mom, what's that?"

His mother laughs and explains pleasantly, "It's a light." (12'00")

Owen Edward looks delighted. He repeats happily, "It's a light, a light," nodding his head enthusiastically. He points to a bulb and asks almost teasingly, "What's that?"

His mother answers patiently, "It's a bulb."

He repeats playfully, "Bulb, bulb!" He seems to have gotten the idea that it is a game. He is thoroughly enjoying himself. He smiles and giggles.

In spite of the fact that this completely disrupts Owen's dinner, Mrs. Culster continues. She seems quite pleased with herself. She points to a white bulb and asks in a direct way, "Owen, what color is that?"

Owen looks at her mischievously and says laughing, "What?"

Mrs. Culster smiles patiently and answers, explaining, "It's a bulb." She hesitates, then goes further with her explanation, "It's a white bulb."

Owen Edward breaks up with laughter. He fidgets excitedly on the stool. It is almost as if he were waiting for his mother's next question. He points excitedly at one of the lights. Demandingly, yet playfully, he says, "What's that?"

Mrs. Culster seems to encourage this type of behavior, by smiling and laughing along with Owen. She says, "It's a light." Owen Edward nods vigorously and repeats, "Light, light." (13'00")

Suggestions for Study

1. List all the objects the mother and Owen name.
2. Compare this conversation Mrs. Culster is having with Owen with excerpt 22. In both excerpts she was teaching.
3. What else could Mrs. Culster have done to encourage language development in this situation?

Excerpt: 24 Subject: Owen Edward Culster Observation: 9 Observer: M. Schoggen

This observation was made in the Culster's home. It is afternoon. Wanda, 7, has just returned from school. The other children present are Opal, 5, Owen, 3, Oliver Walker, 2, and the baby, Earl. The mother is with the children. The mother had offered Wanda some soup to eat. However when she began to stir it she saw that it had burned. She seemed to blame the

children for this. She scolded and chattered as she poured the burned soup into another pan which had other garbage in it.

The four children are standing close to the mother as she holds the pot into which she has poured the hot soup which had been burned. The pot has one hot side where the hot soup is. This is a rather large pan, a three or four quart covered pan with two side handles. The mother picks it up off the counter and holds it down toward Wanda so Wanda can take it to the garbage can outside. Opal grabs for it.

The mother warns sweetly, "Opal, that's hot!"

(3'12") "I haven't got a coat," explains Wanda. "I'm going to get me my coat," she adds reasonably telling her plan.

"You can't," begins the mother, as if to try to explain that Wanda should not take the time to get all her outdoor clothing on. Owen stands just the other side of Opal and Wanda, almost impatiently keeping his hands off the pan, as if he really wants to get hold of it. He looks at the pan rather intently. As the mother bends over Wanda, the mother says to Owen, sounding both annoyed and concerned, "Now take those out of your mouth." I think this refers to some small plastic strip or a stringy piece of paper which Owen has hanging from his mouth. Owen looks at her blankly. Nothing further is said.

Suggestions for Study

1. Opal tells her mother what she planned to do. What was it?
2. What did her mother answer?
3. Compare this exchange between a mother and child with Connie and her mother's conversation about the duck in excerpt 20.

Comments

School learning depends so much on a child's ability to use language that learning language may be the most important task of early childhood (Gray, 1966, Bereiter, 1966). In the preceding section it is clear that some mothers do a great deal to help their young children to talk more and better. Other mothers do not seem to be aware of how important this is.

Adults can use different kinds of sentences to respond to children. A researcher, Courtney Cazden (1968) found that child develops language better when the adult picks up on an idea that the child expresses and gives more information about it, than when he merely repeats what the child says in a good sentence form. For example, a child says, "Dog." It is more helpful to the child's learning to say, "Yes, that's a dog

that's barking at the kitty," than to merely say, "Yes, that is a dog." In excerpt 16, Margie gives this kind of reply to Rene when discussing the macaroni. She gives the information that if macaroni is stirred while cooking, it will not stick together.

Children like to play with sounds, words and conversations. In excerpt 17, Rene is having a good time telling her mother about nursery school. Children need to learn the difference between what is and what is not. This seems to be very clear in Rene's mind.

Children like to imitate sounds. In excerpt 18, Peter is having a fine time rhyming "Oh-oh, go-go." No one tells him to stop. It seems reasonable to say that his mother wants to hear him talk. In excerpt 19, she says, "Petey, I'm trying so hard to understand you." This kind of encouragement makes a difference in a child's desire to talk and learn.

Some researchers have found that children learn better if they have experienced elaborated language (Bernstein, 1964, Hess and Shipman, 1968). This means that the adults will explain situations to a child and also take time to describe objects as well as to label them. In excerpt 22, Mrs. Culster tells Owen to get away from the stove. "You know better than that." In excerpt 13, Mrs. Payne encourages the children to watch the macaroni boil and then to taste it. One experience has no explanation and the other has many words connected to it. In excerpt 24, Mrs. Culster tells Wanda simply, "You can't," when she suggests getting her coat. In excerpt 2, Mrs. Roper explains to Connie she does not need her sweater because it is warm outside.

When a mother is aware of the importance of language she can probably find many ways to teach words and sentences to her children in a relaxed way using everyday situations.

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Appendix A

Answers to Suggestions for Study

Specificity: Answers to Questions.

Excerpt 1

1. She wanted Peter to stir more gently so the Kool-Aid would not spill out.
2. She stirred in the air the way she wanted him to do.
3. She responds, "That's fine," the first time he does it right.
4. "Petey."
"Stir softly, not so hard."
"Then it won't get in your eyes."
"Okay?"
5. Rene tells him, "Peter, you're stirring it too loud."
"Do it...." and Rene demonstrates with a gesture.
She says, "Shh, shh."
6. "Peter, I'm going to have to take that spoon if you can't do it more gently." She lets him know that he will lose his privilege if he does not stir more gently.
7. When Peter does it correctly, she says right away, "Very good, very good, Petey." She says this happily and laughs.

Excerpt 2

1. She was very specific in saying exactly what Connie had done that she liked, "Thank you, Sweetheart, for cutting those out. That's a big help."
2. It seems that Connie would know that her mother was pleased that she cut out the recipes.
3. "We don't need our sweaters in the house. I don't even know if you need one outside today." Her explanation implies that parents don't arbitrarily make children put clothes on or off but rather that amount of clothing is chosen according to the temperature.
4. In excerpt 4, Mrs. Vogler's reason is, "Because I said so."

Excerpt 3

1. The mother is very specific such as, "How about a piece of banana while you're waiting?"

"I'll save the other half for Flora, okay?"
"What kind do you want?" (about the Girl Scout cookie.)
"You want some honey, too?"

2. The mother pays attention to what they ask and answers in complete sentences.
Phil asks, "Is that mine?"
The mother explains, "This is yours. I'm gonna make hers."
Connie asks, "Where's the other half of the banana?"
The mother replies, "I put the other half away for Flora. If you want to eat it you can."
Connie asks, "Where's mine? Is it still frozen?"
Her mother answers, "It's thawed, I'm gonna make yours."
Phil queries, "Will you spread it out?"
The mother answers, "Yes. See, I roll it around and then the bread spreads it out when I put the other piece on."
3. Mrs. Roper is setting the table and she says to Connie, "Look. It matches. They both have blue and green flowers, don't they?"
The mother explains about the bread. "It's thawed, I'm gonna make yours."
About the honey, she says, "I put enough though."
The mother describes her cutting of the bread "from corner to corner."

Excerpt 4

1. "Jack, give that here."
"That's the dinosaur book."
"Give it here."
"Get up off the clothes."
"and quit **showin'** off."
"Put 'em up."
It was hard to know just what the mother was expecting of Jack from this section.
2. Her attitude seemed to be cross and impatient.
3. She had no positive effect on his behavior.
4. Jack then became eager to please and apparently intrigued by having his mother's interested attention.
5. "Can you put them in a nice pile and stack them up on the television?"
6. Jack seems to be delighted to comply with her request and show her what a good job he could do.

Excerpt 5

1. Mrs. Vogler's directions were clear and apparently Jack understood.
2. Her reason was, "'Cause I said so."

3. She did not take this opportunity to give him some reasons such as that someone might fall over them or that a car could run over them and break them.
4. Because his mother clearly indicates she won't take no for an answer. He no doubt knows from previous experience that he had better obey.
5. He really did not learn anything about order from this experience. Mrs. Vogler did not suggest to him that there could be a place for him to store the toys.
6. Mrs. Vogler did not use this opportunity to explain that people could fall over toys or that they could puncture a hole in a tire.

Excerpt 6

1. Francine pushes Paula over. Francine leans on the box, then climbs on the box and slides down. All the while Paula is inside.
2. The mother pays no attention to Paula's call for help.
3. Apparently Francine momentarily gets off Paula because Paula gets up just at this point and runs to the kitchen.
4. The mother probably wanted Francine to stop teasing Paula but there is no specific direction to instruct Francine in which behavior is acceptable.
The general impression is "whatever you're doing, stop."

Excerpt 7

1. The mother said, "Francine, don't do that."
2. She spoke in a languid, lackadaisical way.
3. It was not clear what the mother wanted. Apparently she wanted Francine to stop running around.
4. Francine paid no attention to her mother's reprimand and continued in her wild running around.

Excerpt 8

1. From the record, there is no statement about what the father wanted Owen to do.
2. Owen came in smiling, possibly anticipating a pleasant experience with his father and is completely ignored.
3. There is nothing that would pass for conversation. His father called him, then there was no interaction between them.

Curriculum: Answers to Questions.

Excerpt 9

1. Ten. There are ten times in the course of this short excerpt that the observer notes that Mrs. Payne is looking at Rene. In addition to this she **uses** gestures to sustain Rene's attention. It is probably a help to Rene to keep with the subject as she realizes she has her mother's attention. Also notice Mrs. Payne's ability to wait for Rene to struggle with the idea or words rather than just telling her all the answers.
2. Mrs. Payne does not point out Rene's error, but rather accepts the part of the sentence that was important to Rene -- "the biggest state." Then she repeats the **idea** using a complete sentence and the correct pronunciation of Texas. No doubt this was a comfortable situation for Rene because the correction of her mistake was made in a positive rather than negative way.
3. Mrs. Payne's response was to agree with Rene that Texas is the biggest state. Later Rene states, "One thing I know, it's the biggest one."
4. Mrs. Payne responds by asking Rene a question that includes the correct answer, "Winton's brother, Ted?"
5. She answers by giving the correct information and also further explanation of the difference between four and five which Rene may not grasp as yet. "Ted is more than four."
6. Rene begins to arrange the information that her mother has given her in a meaningful way. "And that Tod's...Tod is Wint's brother....Wint is big and Tod is big....Is Tod four...." The mother answers, "Ted is five." Rene continues, "And Winton is four."
7. Mrs. Payne interjected this information to help Rene's thinking. "Winton's brother, Ted," (twice). "Ted is five....five, Ted is five... Ted is more than four...Ted is bigger than Wint....and Ted is older than Wint...and not very much older and not very much bigger...Ted is five."
8. Mrs. Payne gestures by demonstrating the idea of a "little bit" by using her thumb and finger.

Excerpt 10

1. Mrs. Roper is expecting Connie to learn to wait for something she wants, in other words to delay gratification. Connie wants to open a letter and Mrs. Roper first promises her a letter to open, then chooses one, and says she will save it for her until after her lunch. She also is helping Connie to understand "waiting" in the conversation about Gran, that she will come when the weather is warmer.

2. A letter from Francie. Bologna.
A letter from Gran. The lost piece.
A letter to Gran. All the bologna.
Chipped beef. All the chipped beef.
3. They are probably learning that it is enjoyable to talk with adults and that adults are interested in what they have to say. In the Culster record there is very little conversation. Usually adults give commands that require only action not verbal response. Owen's experience with his father was that he appeared to be completely uninterested in Owen.
4. Mrs. Roper is enthusiastic about receiving letters. She treats the opening and reading of a letter as a rewarding experience. Connie talks about the letter with excitement and anticipates receiving one from "Gran."
5. Mrs. Roper explains to Connie that her grandmother will come when the weather gets warmer. This helps her to begin to understand that people often have reasons for the decisions they make.

Look back to Excerpt 3

6. Mrs. Roper asks if the child would like a whole or half of a banana.
7. She points out to Connie that the napkins and place mats match.
8. A whole banana.
A half banana.
Girl Scout cookie.
Frozen (bread).
Thawed (bread).
Honey.
Corner to corner (cutting the bread).
The mail.
9. A half banana: Connie labels "half" and the mother labels "half."
A Girl Scout cookie: Phil labels it and Mrs. Roper repeats it.
We need to buy more honey: Connie states and the mother repeats.
10. "That's why I ate just a little bit."
"Mamma we don't got some more."
11. Whole. Some.
Half. Little bit.
Piece. Enough.
One. Not very much.
More. Other half.

Excerpt 11

1. "Leave them alone."

"Leave the dishes alone."

"Leave the bowl alone."

2. She scolds him for playing with the bowl. Apparently she was unaware that he had been helpful.
3. She talks about the rabbit not the tie which suggests that she had not really listened to what he said.
4. She does not encourage the children to be curious. In this section besides the negative commands, she threatens them when she believes they are "playing" with the bowls. Also, she does not respond to Zane's interest in the tie on the rabbit.
5. Mrs. Rubens' comments are short sentences and few words. She does say it will burn but does not elaborate with more ideas. She does not encourage Phil when he uses the word "hot." Mrs. Payne gives lots of information and encourages Rene to try out words and ideas.
6. The Rubens children could be learning that adults do not have much information to give. Whereas the Payne children will probably look to adults to help solve problems and answer questions. When each child gets to school there will probably be a difference in the way he views the teacher.
7. She gives the largest bowl to Zane, 3, the middle size bowl to Phil, 4, and the littlest bowl to Ginger, 2.
8. She could have matched the size bowl to the same size child and talked about it. She could have talked about the story of "The Three Bears." She could have used words denoting relative size, etc.
9. She could have labeled the crackers round and square. She could have let the children match the round ones. She could have asked them to match round or square to other objects in the room of the same shape.
10. Phil uses indefinite words such as "those," "that," and "this," and relies on pointing for understanding. In the other two excerpts the children label the food with their exact names such as banana, chipped beef, bologna, etc. This kind of experience gives them a lot more vocabulary for both understanding and expression.

Excerpt 12

1. Crayons, school satchel.

2. Grabbing crayons out of box.
Fingering them to feel texture.
Colors on the chair arm.
Drops crayons on bed.
Puts crayons in box.
Uses crayons as lipstick.

Stuffs crayons in box.
Dumps them on the bed.
Pretends to eat crayon.
Puts one or two crayons in box.
Grabs box of crayons.
Drops a crayon.

Breaks some crayons.
Stuff crayon box in pocket.

In contrast crayons at school are used with paper (probably there was none available at the Culster's) for purposes of creative expression or academic activity such as printing letters or coloring in squares.

3. Connie's use of scissors was that she had child size scissors to accomplish a specific task of cutting recipes for her mother whose appreciation was expressed.
4. Mrs. Culster gave no direction about the use of crayons.
5. She was mopping the floor and other than commanding them to stay out of the kitchen, she ignored their wild playing.
6. She yells, "You stay in there."
She listens to Opal (this is assumed).

Excerpt 13

1. Looking and listening to the macaroni bubbling.
Rene and Peter taste the macaroni for "doneness."
Rene touches the macaroni gingerly for temperature.
Rene chews a small piece of macaroni.
Rene picks up macaroni realizing that it is cooled off in the little time since her mother took it out of the pot.
2. Rene touches the macaroni that just came out of the boiling water. A little later she takes the macaroni with confidence realizing that it has now cooled.
3. Mrs. Payne allows Rene to climb on a chair near the stove and watch the boiling water. Apparently Rene has already learned not to get too close or put her hands near the stove. Peter also climbs up. Mrs. Payne lets them taste the macaroni and shows confidence in their ability to tell if it is done enough. The mother is teaching them not only first hand experiences, but that these experiences can be shared through language with another person.

Excerpt 14

1. "Get off ma boots."
"Come on."
"Owen Edward."
"Do you want to do something for me?"
"Get that broom and bring it to me! Or I'll get you a broom."
"I'll shoe you if you don't do what I told you."
"Bring it to me!"
"Get Mama's broom and bring it to me."
"Boot on, boot off."
"Get me the broom."

2. Her attitude is negative toward this situation. She tries to discourage him from playing with her boots. However, Owen for the most part ignores her and continues to pursue his interest in them.
3. He was curious about the boots and wanted to experience them first hand. He was persistent. He stuck to the task of getting them on and zipping them up even though it was difficult.
4. Picks the boots up by the tops and moves them back and forth.
While standing, tries to push his foot in the boot.
Grasps a zipper and pulls it.
Unzips zipper.
Slips his foot into the boot.
Tries to push right foot into left boot.
Works alternately with right and left hands.
He stands and begins to walk around in the boots.
He puts his feet on the couch.
He tries to unzipper the boot.
He pulls off the boot unzipped, his own shoes coming off too.
5. She may have had a little conversation with Owen about the boots in which some of the following ideas might have been brought out.
She could have "labeled" the shoes and boots, "You have shoes on and those are my boots."
She might have asked, "Which pair of shoes are bigger? How are the shoes and boots alike? Different?"
"You are strong to pull up those zippers."
"It sounds different when you walk in Mama's boots than when you walk in your shoes."
"How many shoes do you have?"
"How many boots do you have?"
6. "I got you some spoons."
"I gave Petey two of them."
"I've already given him a spoon and I've given you one too."
"How about one?"
"You got one spoon to eat with."
"Two spoons."
"I'll get you another spoon, Petey."
"Okay, Petey? 'Cause Peter wants two."
"I'll give you three more. 'Cause he wants these."
7. All the action is accompanied by words. He got two spoons from Rene and one from Margie. He observes and says that he has three spoons in his bowl. Margie takes two spoons away and calls Peter's attention to the one that is left. Rene tells Peter she will get him three spoons and she does.

Excerpt 15

1. Mrs. Payne

"First let me get that other package out. We'll open it up then get the package out."

"Now suppose we eat some carrots and read the book while we're waiting for the water to boil... after the water boils. We better let the water boil first."

"That's gonna get hot."

"Let's look at a story, okay?"

"I'll get him in a minute."

"Hold on."

"You let her choose her own because she wants to choose her own."

"And we'll read the story."

"Don't you want one of these?"

"Well, I think the baby is just a baby but this one is Sal."

"Remember in Blueberries for Sal?"

"Are you a kid?"

"Baby, baby."

"Look. That's how you look when you get up in the morning."

"She does. She really does."

Mrs. Rubens

"Leave them alone, leave them alone."

"Leave the dishes alone."

"Leave that bowl alone."

"I'm gonna whip you."

"I'm gonna give you a whippin'."

"It's hot Ginger."

"It's hot Ginger."

"It's hot Ginger."

"Burn your mouth."

"What kind of crackers do you want?"

"What kind of crackers you want, Phil?"

"What kind? Ritz?"

"Which one do you want, Zane?"

"This?"

"Do you want this?"

"I don't know if you're going to get any."

"It's hot Ginger."

"What's that, a rabbit?"

2. Mrs. Payne promises that Rene can pour the macaroni in.

She does not stop Peter from watching the water boil although she does warn him that it is hot and she watches his activity closely.

She lets Rene choose which pieces of carrot she wants.

Mrs. Rubens discourages the children from doing things for themselves more than encourages.

Zane picked up the fallen bowl from the floor. Mrs. Rubens did not notice.

She reprimanded him for moving the bowl she had placed on the table. She did give them a choice of crackers, but she held the box making a more difficult choice for a child.

3. Mrs. Payne is reading a story to the children.

4. She invitingly asks them to look at the story.

She answers Rene's question about Sal with interest.

She recalls with Rene another storybook.

She reads with expression.

She helps Rene identify with the child in the story by saying, "Look. That's how you look when you get up in the morning."

5. It appears listening to a story from the excerpt that it is a frequent and pleasant experience for Rene. She will probably be quite enthusiastic to read for herself or listen to her teacher read a story when she goes to school.
6. Mr. Culster did not do anything about inviting Owen to look at the magazine. He could have asked Owen to climb up beside him and look at the pictures with him and talk about them together.

Language: Answers to Questions.

Excerpt 16

1. Meat, turkey, chicken, things with skin.
2. "....things with skin."
 "These are stuck together."
 "Some aren't stuck together."
 "If you put them in a pot and don't stir them, they'll all stick together."
 "Some of mine are stuck together."
 "They do that at the grocery store sometimes."
 "Mama didn't stir these last night, I bet."
 "Sometimes they get stuck anyway."
3. She probably feels that adults like to talk with her and that what she has to say is important.
4. She will probably anticipate that the teacher will be interested in her and what she says and does. When a new idea is presented in the classroom, she will probably try to think it through and if she does not understand, will ask for help.
5. "I haven't got a coat," explains Wanda. "I'm going to get me my coat."
 "You can't," answers the mother. There is no opening to go on talking about reasons or explanations.

Excerpt 17

1. She asked the question to make conversation and to let Rene know she was interested in her activities.
2. First she says that she did not do anything, then that she played, then that she did not play.
3. She keeps the game going by adding an unlikely possibility of her own, "You sat in the corner all morning!"
4. She giggles and says, "No, I really did play."

Excerpt 18

1. Noodle soup, SpaghettiOs, asparagus soup, tomato soup, spaghetti and meatballs.
2. "Oh-oh, go-go," Peter says after Mrs. Payne has just said, "SpaghettiOs."
Toward the end of this section he says even more of the word, "Gettyos, gettos."
3. Instead of the mother deciding what to have for lunch, she is letting Rene choose. But, not only that, she strengthens the learning situation by giving Rene the words to go along with the experience, "You may decide."
4. "Oh-oh, go-go."
(Mother) "SpaghettiOs." (Peter) "Gettyos."

Excerpt 19

1. Margie: "I got you some spoons."
Rene: "I gave Petey two of them."
Margie: "I've already given him a spoon and I've given you one, too."
Peter: "I got three spoons."
Margie: "You got one spoon to eat with."
Rene: "Two spoons."
 "I'll get you another spoon, Petey."
 "Okay?"
 "Okay, Petey? 'Cause Petey wants two."
 "I'll give you three more."
 "'Cause he wants these."
Peter: "Two, two."
 "Bwoke, bwoke."
Rene: "That doesn't matter, Petey."
 "It's just something to eat."
Peter: "Bwoke, bwoke."
Rene: "It doesn't care, Peter. It doesn't care."
 "It doesn't matter, Peter. It doesn't matter."
Mother: "Peter, I'm sorry. I'm trying so hard to understand you."
Peter: "Bwoke, bwoke."
Rene: "He said, 'bwoke' (broke)."
Peter: "Bwoke."
2. "Two, two."
 "Bwoke, bwoke."
3. "Peter, I'm sorry. I'm trying so hard to understand you."
4. Rene translates, "He said, 'bwoke.'"
5. "I got three spoons."

Excerpt 20

1. "I went to see a duck! I went to see a duck!"
"Phillie, I went to see a duck."
"I went to see a duck, Phillie."
"Mama, I went to see a duck."
2. She added the names of the ducks, "Did you see Batman and Robin? They are going to take Batman and Robin out into the grass now. That will be good for them to be out in the grass."
3. She asked Connie, "...you want to help 'em. You wanna help? Go tell Randy then. He's going to do it now."

Excerpt 21

1. "There is one duck in the ..."
"There is a duck in the wagon."
"Look! Two ducks in the wagon."
"We put a duck in the wagon! We put a duck in the wagon!"
"A duck in a wagon."
2. "There is one duck in the ..."
"There is a duck in the wagon."
"Look! Two ducks in the wagon!"
3. "There is one duck in the"
"There is a duck in the wagon."
"Look! Two ducks in the wagon!"
"Leave the ducks in there."
"Don't let them jump out."
"We put a duck in the wagon."
"A duck in a wagon."
"Don't let them out."

Excerpt 22

1. In the Culster excerpt most of the conversation consists of commands or reprimands. In the Payne record, the mother talks with the children in a conversational tone.

2. Mrs. Culster

"You get down from there."
"You know better than that."
"Sit up at the table."
"Take that piece of gum out of your mouth."
"Now remember your prayers."
"Bow your head, Owen."

Mrs. Payne

"First let me get the package out. We'll open it and then get the package out."
"Now suppose we eat some carrots and read the book while we're waiting for the water to boil. Then you can open the package and dump it in. After the water boils. We better let the water boil first."

2. (cont.)

"Let's look at the story, okay?"

"I'll get him (Peter) in a minute.
Hold on."

"You let her choose her own because
she wants to choose her own."

"....and we'll read the story."

"Well, I think the baby is just a
baby, but this one is Sal. Remem-
ber in Blueberries for Sal?"

"Look. That's how you look when
you get up in the morning. She
does. She really does."

3. Mrs. Culster

table
piece of gum
mouth
head

Mrs. Payne

package
carrots
book
water

4. "You know better than that."

"We'll open it and then get the
package out."

"Then you can open the package
and dump it in."

"I'll get him in a minute."

"You let her choose her own because
she wants to choose her own."

Excerpt 23

1. light
bulb

white bulb

2. In this record Mrs. Culster seems very relaxed and enjoying talking to her children. In excerpt 22, apparently it did not occur to her that there were many things around that would have been interesting to talk about. But the Christmas tree brought about a pleasant conversation.

3. She might have talked about the other lights in the house, or other things that are white, or round like the bulb, or made of glass. She could have talked about the bulb's size or position. "Which bulb is larger, or which one is higher on the tree?" She could have used some negative sentences. "I see a bulb that is not red. What is it?" etc.

Excerpt 24

1. "I haven't got a coat. I'm going to get me a coat."

2. "You can't." She offered no further explanation.

3. In the Culster record Wanda introduced an idea she had to go get her coat and her mother stopped the conversation by saying, "You can't." Connie told her mother she went to see the duck and her mother asked questions about it and gave her some more information about ducks.